Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift

AND

The Passionate Morrice.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

THOMAS POWELL'S

Tom of all Trades.

The Glasse of Godly Loue.
(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT

BEEING

ROBIN GOOD-FELLOWES NEWES OUT OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE INHABITES NEITHER CHARITY NOR HONESTY.

WITH HIS OWNE INUECTIVE AGAINST IELOSY.

AND

THE PASSIONATE MORRICE.

1593.

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Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

1600.

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TOM OF ALL TRADES.

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PREFERMENT.

BEING

A DISCOVERY OF A PASSAGE TO PROMOTION IN ALL PROFESSIONS, TRADES,
ARTS, AND MYSTERIES.

1631.

THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOUE.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

1569.

EDITED BY

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§ 1. HERE are reprints of three rare tracts, of which the first two are on the England of Elizabeth's time (1503, 1600), and the third is written by a man of her time, tho' not publisht till the seventh year of Charles the First's reign (1631). The fourth scrap is before 1600.

The printing of the first tract was urg'd on me by my friend Mr W. C. Hazlitt, because there was only one copy of it known to him, and that at Peterborough Cathedral Library, quite out of the way of the ordinary student. As this tract dealt with the husbandand-wife question in Shakspere's young days, and mainly took-up the other side (the woman's) to that which Shakspere backt in The Comedy of Errors (Act II. sc. i.; V. i. 68-86), I was glad to recommend it to the friend and fellow-member of our Society1 who had offerd to give us a Shakspere's-England reprint of moderate size. Otherwise its inner worth would not have given it so early a place in our Sixth Series. But still, for the social condition of England in Shakspere's time, this Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift of 1503 has great interest, so far as the family life of the middle classes Oddly enough, too, it does illustrate aptly a bit of the last long speech of Suffolk in I Henry VI, V. v. 48-54 (tho' I suppose that is not Shakspere's), about the young king's choice of the dowerless Margaret:

¹ He has made it a condition that his name be not mentiond.

x Forewords. § 1. Elizabethan and Victorian Morals.

Suf. A dower, my lords! disgrace not so your king, That he should be so abject, base, and poor, To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love. Henry is able to enrich his queen, And not to seek a queen to make him rich: So worthless peasants bargain for their wives, As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.

At p. 61-2, of Tell-Troth's Part II, The Passionate Morrice, we come on the following passage:—

"Fie, fie! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children. He that bids most, shal speed soonest; & so he hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so; & I wil assure you, loues commonwealth wil neuer florish until it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer."

This cannot be calld an advance on the low part of the earlier *Paston-Letters* view of the marriage question.¹

I do not want to puff our Victorian time against the Elizabethan. We have faults enough, God knows. There may be a few beings calld women now extant, who justify the sketches that reviews tell us sensation-novelists draw, and that prurient article-writers affect to denounce, but surely no one can turn from the cuckoo cry which the Love's-Labours-Lost end song, and almost all Elizabethan books on social life, echo; no one can contrast Shakspere's doctrine on the relation of husband and wife in The Errors (First-Period) and Taming of the Shrew, with Tennyson's in The Princess, without

² See my Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i, p. 2.

³ There's nothing, situate under heaven's eye,

But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky:

The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls,

Are their males' subject, and at their controls:

Men, more divine, the masters of all these,

Dear, but let us type them now In our own lives, and this proud watchword rest

Of equal; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal, nor unequal; each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in
thought,

Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,

¹ There is also proof of plenty of true love in these Letters; and Margaret Paston, the heroine of the volumes, is not far from being a model wife of the time.

feeling that enormous moral progress has been made since the Elizabethan time in the relations of the sexes, and of husband and wife.¹

The comparison of Love's Labours Lost with The Princess is full of interest; and though the contrast of the converse excluders of the opposite sex in the two works strikes a student of both poets at first sight, I have never seen or heard it alluded-to in any criticism of the poem or play. The comparison of In Memoriam with the Sonnets has been indeed mentiond, but never workt out, full of interest as the subject is. Victorians need not fear to set Arthur Hallam by Shakspere's Will H., or the grounds of Tennyson's affectionate reverence for his friend, by those of Shakspere's love for his.

Assuming, then, that the full description by the unknown 1593 Tell-trothe² of the causes of Jealousy in English husbands, and

Lords of the wide world, and wild wat'ry seas,

Indued with intellectual sense and souls,

Of more pre-eminence than fish and fowls,

Are masters to their females, and their lords:

Then let your will attend on their accords.—Luciana, in *Errors*, II. i.

(Cp. Milton's view.)

¹ The views of our narrow-minded (and often caddish) folk, as well as those of our broader-minded and more generous men, on the Woman-question, are annually stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Woman's-Suffrage Bill, or any attempt to admit women to the learned professions. Women still wait for justice and fair-play.

² Indouinello, a tell-truth, a tom-tell-troth.—1598; Florio. For the second name of the title, Robin Goodtellow (or Hobgoblin), see Shakspere's Midsummer Night's Dream, II. 1. 34, 40, Cotgrave, and Florio:

Follet; or, Esprit follet. An Hobgoblin, Robin-goodfellow, Bugbeare.—1611; Cotgrave.

Luiton: m. A Goblin, Bug, Robin-good-fellow, merrie diuell, that vses to mocke, and deceiue, sillie people.—1611; Cotgrave.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe ... also a Hobgoblin, Hob-thrush, Robingood-fellow; also a night-walker, or flie-light; one thats neuer scene but by Owle-light.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, Robin-good-fellow, Hob-thrush; a spirit which playes reakes in mens houses anights.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutiner. To play the Goblin, or night-spirit; to keepe a foule rumbling, or terrible racket vp and down a house in the night.—1611; Cotgrave.

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a robin goodfellow, a hob-goblin, a sprite, a lade, the niding hagge, or mare.—1598; Florio.

The single pure and perfect animal, The two-cell'd heart, beating, with one full stroke,

Life. The Princess, p. 157, 1st ed., 1847.

the relation of father and daughter, husband and wife, justifies the appearance of our first tract, in this volume, I pass on to the second, John Lane's *Tom Tel-troths Message and his Pens Complaint*, of 1600, when Shakspere was writing, or had just written, his brilliant Second-Period *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*.

§ 2. John Lane is known to manuscript men by his still unprinted completion of Chaucer's Squires Tale, and his re-telling of the Romance of Guy of Warwick, the prose Forewords to which are printed in the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, ii. 521-5, from the Harleian MS. 5243 in the British Museum. He is not mentioned in Edmund Howes's list of English poets with Willi. Shakespeare gentleman" (Continuation of Stowe's Annales, ed. 1615, p.

Mani ... hobgoblins, or elfes, or such misshapen images or imagined spirits that nurces fraie their babes withall, to make them leave crying, as we say bug-beare, or els, rawe head and bloodie bones.—1598; Florio.

Lemuri, the ghosts or spirits of such as dye before their time, or hobgoblings, black bugs, or nightwalking spirits.—ib. And see Manduco.

¹ Thus describ'd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., 1845, col. 91-2: No. 53. A small quarto volume, containing 81 leaves of paper, gilt at the edges, beside three on which are written the title and introductory pieces: it is very neatly written, as for a presentation copy; and the royal Arms are stamped on the covers.

"Chaucer's Piller, beinge his Master-peece, called the Squires Tale, we hath binn given [up as] lost, for all most thense three hundred yeares; but now found out, and brought to light by John Lane. 1630."

On the back of the title is an acrostick (forming "Maria Anglie. C. M.") from "The Muse to the soveraigne bewtie of our adreadded sovereign lord king Chailes:" which introduces an affected dedication, followed by 8 lines from "The Muse to the fowre winds," by "J. L.," and 6 lines to the author by Thomas Windham, of Keinsford, co. Somerset, Esq., one of the Justices. On the fourth page are 4 stanzas from the fourth book of the Faerie Queene by "The poet Spencer, uppon the loss of that peece of Chaucers." Then follow the Description of the Squier by Chaucer (in his prologue to the Canterbury Tales, v. 79—100), and "The Squiers prolog, as it is in Chaucer," and "The Squiers tale as it is in Chaucer," the text of which on f. i.

The two first parts of this poem, and the two first lines of the third part, are copied from Chaucer; at the end of the second (f. 10b) is this note. "Heare followeth my suppliment to bee inserted in place of that of Chaucer's which is missing. J. L." This long poem, which bears no just proportion to Chaucer's tales, consists of twelve parts or cantos, to each of which is prefixed a summary stanza of 4 lines. At the end are an Epilogus (f. 79b), "The Marchantes wordes to the Squier, and the Hostes wordes to the Marchant as they are in Chaucer" (f. 80), and "Comparatio," f. 80b.

On the back of f 81, Ashmole has written an extract from Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," about Canace, the heroine of this story.

811, col. 2); but, as the friend of Milton's father, he is done more than justice to by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, who in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, thus describes Lane:—

"A fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublisht, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gain'd him a name not much interiour, if not equal, to *Drayton* and others of the next rank to *Spencer*; but they are all to be produc't in Manuscript: namely, his *Poetical Vision*; his *Alarm to the Poets* [1648]; his *Twelve Months*; his *Guy of Warrvic*, a Heroic Poem (at least as much as many others that are so Entitled); and lastly his Supplement to *Chauer's* Squires Tale."—1675, p. 111-12; edition 1824, p. xxiii. See also Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, p. 100 [which only repeats part of Phillips].—Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 326, col. 2.

Besides the above, John Lane² wrote

"An Elegie vpon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soueraigne Elizabeth. By I. L. Imprinted at London for John Deane, at Temple-barre. 1603; 4to, 7 leaves. *Bodleian* (Malone) *ib.*; and

"Tritons Trumpet, 1620." (Hazlitt.)

His Tom Tel-Troths Message is a poem of 120 six-line stanzas, in which he complains of his countrymen's naughtinesses. The closest handling of his subject is in pages 119—134, where he deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. This should be compared with the like part in The Times Whistle, by R. C., about 1616 A.D., edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr J. M. Cowper in 1871.

Lane first complains of the Pope, the Cardinals, priests, monks, friars, and all 'this popish ribble-rabble route,' stanzas 14-19, p. 113-114. Then he laments vaguely the state of 'Englands two Vniuersities,' and the Seven Liberal Sciences, p. 115-118, of which, Grammar 'stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,' l. 149, and Poetry brings no solace to country swains, who fancy more 'the winding of an horne,' l. 208, while ballad-makers pen 'new gigges for a countrie clowne,' l. 216, and 'bastard braines' with their base rymes work Poetry's infamy, l. 226.

 $^{^{1}}$ See Percy Folio, ii. 522, col. 1, at foot. The Poetical Visions was to have 'first and second partes.'

² Under A.D. 1572, Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, Pt. i, col. 189, notes,—when speaking of John Lane, of Christ Church, who died in 1578—"There was one John Lane, a poet, about this time."

³ Compare The Image of Ypocresye, &c., in my Ballads from MSS., i. 181-266.

xiv Forewords. § 2. Lane on the Seven Deadly Sins.

Next come the Seven Deadly Sins. Under (1) Pride, Lane abuses the 'fine-ruft Ruffines,' st. 42, p. 119; the dandies 'full trick and trim tır'd in the lookinge glasse,' l. 255, casting sheeps-eyes 1, &c., walking with fantastical gait, st. 45, wearing long hair or curld locks, st. 46, resembling every shape like Proteus,2 and every colour like the chameleon, st. 47; drest in the snip-snap jagd clothes, st. 48, that in former fashions Chaucer in his Parsons Tale, and so many other complainers from time to time condemnd; and with wingd sleeves, round hose, cloaks short and long, st. 51, p. 121. the women are scolded for their dress: bold Beatrice with her wires—that movd Stubbes's wrath—tires, periwig, and caul (st. 52); with feathers (which men wear too), st. 53, 54; pumps, pantofles, corkt shoes (st. 55, p. 122), and fans (st. 56). The picture alluded-to in stanzas 57-8, of the Englishman set alone, in other folks' feathers, I have not come across.3 Andrew Boorde's caricature, given at p. 167 of my Harrison, is the only one of the kind I know.

Under (2) Envy, the only special hits are at the Minstrels daily striving with blind fiddlers, l. 398, p. 124, the justling Jacks driving their betters to the wall, l. 400, and the scoffers 'with rimes and riddles rating at their foe,' l. 405.

Under (3) Wrath, we have the fights in Smithfield, the lines that make one think of the sad death of Marlowe in a quarrel for a drab, st. 76, p. 126. Then Wrath's contraries are dwelt-on in st. 80-1, p. 127, Chaucer's other 'vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferaunce' (Remedium contra Iram), being treated as two.

(4) Sloth or Idleness has no local colour.

Avarice (5) repeats Harrison's complaints in his Description, II. 18, p. 296, &c., how 'She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,' st. 90, p. 129, and specially 'engrosseth all the corne,' l. 547; and leads to Usury (Harrison, p. 242), the two making the proudest cavaliers stoop, and penning 'them vp within the Poultries coope,' in gaol, st. 94. Avarice too leads to landlords racking the rents of houses and lands, p. 130, of which Crowley, Harrison, my Ballads from MSS. i., the Supplications (E. E. Text Soc.), &c. &c., complain so bitterly.

Of Gluttony (6) Lane says, p. 131, that it is allied to Lechery and Drunkenness:—

¹ Compare Laneham with the Ladies, in his Letter of 1575, p. 60 of my ed.

² Compare Andrew Boorde, and Harrison's *Description*, II. vii, p. 167, &c. Also Stubbes.

³ Perhaps it's in the *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits*, Paris, 1562 (A. Boorde, p. 323).

Forewords. § 2. John Lane. § 3. Thomas Powell. xv

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie
In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
To spend their substance vpon whorish mates.

604

Under Lechery, the seventh and last Deadly Sin, Lane's stanza 109, p. 132, evidently alludes to Shakspere's Venus and Adonis, and Lucrece. He regrets the infection of the French disease, st. 110, p. 133, the wide-spread cuckoldry of his day, st. 113, and the 'light-taylde huswives' showing and vaunting themselves in (?) Shakspere's Globe theatre, 'the Banke-sides round-house,' where in 1599—perhaps at its opening—he brought out his triumphant Henry V. Then Lane stops, not for want of further matter, st. 120, p. 135, but because his pen is dry. And he affirms, l. 713-14,

.... Tom Teltroth will not lie, We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

(I pay for the present reprint of Lane and the extract from Pritchard or Rogers at the end of this volume.)

§ 3. Our third tract is by a reverencer of Bacon in his distress, a rollicking attorney and Welshman, Thomas Powell, who seems to have begun writing very bad serious poetry in 1598 and 1601, and then turnd to chaffing prose,—still intersperst with scraps of bad verse,—and divers professional handbooks, till he ended his career of authorship in 16311 with his *Tom of all Trades*, here reprinted. My attention was first calld to the last-namd book during my inquiries into 'Education in Early England,' by Warton's extract from it in his *History of English Poetry*, § 58, vol. iv, p. 304, note 3, ed. Hazlitt.⁴

There being no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and the second edition being conceald by its title, I waited till a visit to the Bodleian enabl'd me to read the book there; and I found it interesting enough to justify its reproduction here. As Powell was Shakspere's contemporary, his account of how fathers then pusht their sons and daughters on in life, tho' not publisht till 1631,

¹ He may of course have seen through the press some of the later editions of his *Attourneys Academy*, &c.

² There may have been two Thomas Powells. But as the one of 1603-1631 had both a serious and a humorous style in his prose, and in his verse in his prosebooks, I see no sufficient reason for supposing that he is not the serious-style verse-writer of 1598-1601.

³ See the Forewords to my Babees Book, E. E. Text Soc. 1868.

⁴ I have also had copied for the Society, Edward Hake's *Touchstone for this time present*, 1574, for its bit about girls' education and amusements, partly quoted by Warton in the same note. But the rest of the book is preachy and dull.

covers Shakspere's time, and enables us to realize a bit of his fellow countrymen's being. Our Member, Miss E. Phipson of Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke, kindly bears the cost of this Powell reprint.

Of Thomas Powell's first publication, Loues Leprosie (W. White, 1598), a quarto of ten leaves, only one copy is known, that of Mr Christie-Miller, at Britwell. It was reprinted by my friend Dr Rimbault for the Percy Society in his five "Ancient Poetical Tracts of the Sixteenth Century, reprinted from unique copies formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Caldecott, Esq." 1842. The poem is on the death of Achilles, through his love for Priam's daughter Polyxena. Here are three extracts from it, on that love, on Achilles's fight with Troilus, and on Achilles's death from the arrow shot into his only vulnerable spot, his heel:—

- "Achilles loues Polyxene: What is shee?
 The lyuing daughter of his enemie.
 How shall he woe her, that hath wed another?
 How shall he winne her, that hath slaine her brother?
 His trophees and his triumphes she doth hate;
 In Hectors death his vallor liued too late;
 Liue blest in this, that thow art Orpheus brother:
 Hee none of thine, nor Thetis is his mother."—p. 71.
- "Well mounted and well met, they ioyne togcather
 Like flowdes, whose rushing, cause tempestuous weather;
 And now their clattering shildes resemble thunder;
 The fire, a lightning when the cloudes do sunder:
 Long did it thunder ere the heavens were bright;
 So long, that when it cleered, the day was night;
 A night perpetual vnto Priams sonne;
 His horse was slaine, the day was lost and won;
 And heere each one might heare windes whispering sound,
 When earst the drums their senses did confound;
 Troilus dethes chiefe conquest from the fielde;
 Wrapt in their colours, couered with their shielde,
 They carry him to make the number more,
 Whose bleeding sydes Achilles speare did gore."—p. 78.
- "Foorthwith a marriage twixt them was concluded; Alas, that true loue should be so deluded! The sunne is rose, sees Thetis sonne to fall Vnder this false pretended nuptiall. The Delphick oracle is now fulfilde, 'Eare Troy be wonne, Achilles must be kilde.'

¹ r. The Doctrinall of good Servauntes. 2. The Boke of Mayd Emlyn. 3. The New Nutbrowne Mayd. 4. The Complaynt of a dolorous Louer. 5. Loues Leprosie.

Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's Welch Bayte, &c. xvii

This is the day wherein they surfet all, With blood of his who made the Troians thrall: And this the day wherein he did appease Vinquiet soules, which earst could find no ease. This day was night to him, and day to those By whom vntimely death did heere repose. His liues familliar starre doth shoote and gall, The fairest starre the heavens weare gracte withall, Euen when his steppes salute the temple porch With hymmes, and Hymæn[e]us burning torch, A shaft from Paris hand did soone disclose Where Styx had kist him, and how high it rose. Where the Stygian flood did neuer reach, Deathes winged messenger did make a breach, Whence from each veine the sacred breath descending, Polyxens ioyes began, and his had ending.

p. 79.

Powell's second book, I have not seen. Mr Hazlitt believes that the unique copy from Heber's sale is at Britwell, and gives it as

"The Passionate Poet. With a Description of the Thracian Iemarus. By T. P. London, printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill, at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601. 4to. 26 leaves."

Of the third book, which is a very rare black-letter quarto of 16 leaves, Mr Henry Huth has, with his unvarying kindness, lent me his copy. It is a tract written just before and just after Queen Elizabeth's death: 1. justifying the reasonableness of her dealing with Papists on the one hand, and Dissenters on the other (see the first two extracts on p. xviii, xix); 2. chaffily describing the effect produc't by the news of Elizabeth's death, the disturbances likely to arise from it, and the quieting of them by the happy proclamation of James I; 3. arguing that the Scotch and English are of like nature, and fit to form one nation; in this, the opposite of the author of The Complaynt of Scotland, and too of Andrew Boorde with his "Trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes; all is falsholde:" see the amusing bits in my edition of Boorde (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 59, note 3, p. 135-8. The title of this third book is

¹ It was suppresst. Valentine Simmes was fined 13s. 4d. on Dec. 5, 1603, for printing it and a ballad. See p. 192, below.

² "there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men:" for, in short, the Englishmen are devils, and the Scotchmen are angels. But note Andrew Boorde's "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicion of a Scotysh man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man." p. 137.

xviii Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's Welch Bayte.

A / WELCH BAYTE / to spare Prouender. / Or, / A looking backe vpon the / Times past. / Written Dialogue wise. / This booke is divided into three parts, / The first, a briefe discourse of Englands Securitie, while her / late Maiestie was living, with the maner of her proceeding in / Gouernment, especially towards the Papists and Puritanes of / England, whereof a Letter written late before her death, speci-/fies, as followeth in this first part. / The second, A description of the Distractions during her / Maiesties sickenesse, with the composing of them. / The third, Of the Aptnesse of the English and the Scotte to / incorporate and become one entire Monarchie: with the / meanes of preserving their vnion everlastingly, added there-/vnto. [Scroll.] Printed at London by Valentine Simmes. / 1603.

The extracts above referrd to, p. xvii, on Elizabeth's treatment of Romanists and Dissenters follow:—

"But when about the twentieth yeare of hir raigne shee had discoursed in the King of *Spaine* an intention to inuade hir dominions, and that a principall point of the plotte was to prepare a partie with in the realme that might adhere to the forreiner, and that the Seminaries began to blossome, and to send forth dayly, priests and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subiects from their obedience, yea and binde many of them to attempt against her Maiesties sacred person, and that by the poyson which they spred, the humors of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience and of Softenes, but Papists in faction; then were there newe lawes made for the punishment of such as should submitte them selues to such reconcilements or renuntiations of obedience; And because it was a treason carried in the clowdes and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldome to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusancie to come to divine service: Because it was sette downe by their decrees, That, To come to Church before reconcilement, was to line in schisme; But, To come to Church after reconcilement, was absolutely hereticall and damnable.

Therefore there were added Lawes containing punishment pecuniarie against such Recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impouerish the meanes of those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no.

And when, notwithstanding all this prouision, this poyson was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no meanes to stay it but by

restraining the Merchants that brought it in,

Then lastly, was there added a Lawe whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled; and those that were at that time within the land shipped ouer, and so commanded to keepe hence, vpon paine of treason.

[sign. B 4, bk] This hath beene the proceeding, though intermingled,

not only with sundrie examples of hir Maiesties grace towards such as in her wisdome she knewe to be *Papists* in Conscience, and not in Faction and Singularitie; but also with an ordinarie mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree conuicted by lawe: If they would but protest, that if in case this realme should be inuaded with a forreine armie by the Popes authoritie, for the Catholique cause, (as they terme it) they would take part with hir Maiestie, and not adhere to hir enemies.

For the other part which haue bin offensiue to the State, though in other degree, which name themselues *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritanes*; this hath bin the proceeding towards them.

A great while when they inueighed against such abuses in the Church, as *Phuralities*, *Nonresidence* & the like; their zeale was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured.

When they refused the vse of some ceremonies and rites, as superstitions, they were tollerated with much conniuence, and gentlenes: Yea, when they called in question the Superioritie of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracie* into the church; Yet, their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrarie writing, debated, and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceived that their course was dangerous, and very popular; as, because *Papistrie* was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouthes, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of *Papistrie*; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreame, to another.

Because multitude of Rogues, and Pouertie were an eye-soare, and dislike to euerie man, therefore they put it into the peoples head: That, if Discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds, nor beggers (a thing very plausible,) and in like manner, they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline.

Besides, they opened the people a way to gouernment by their *Consistorie*, and *Præsbyterie*, a thing though in consequence no lesse præiudiciall to the liberties of private men, then to the soveraignty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular. Neverthelesse all this (exept it were in some few that entered into extreame contempts) was borne, because they pretended but in dutiful maner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God, and the authoritie of the Magistrate.

But now of late yeares, when there issued from them, as it were a Colonie of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when vnder pretence of a confession, to auoide slaunders and imputations, they combined themselues by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile & base meanes of defacing the gouernment of the Church by rediculous Pusquils 1; When they beganne to make many subjects in doubt to

¹ The Martin Marprelate controversy began in 1589.

take an oath, which is one of the fundamentall parts of Iustice in this Land and in all places; When they beganne both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partizans, and followers, and to vse communications that their cause would preuaile, though with vproare and violence; Then it appeared to be no more zeale, no more conscience, but meere faction and deuision: And therefore though the State was compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restraine them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church & State could permitte.

And therefore, Sir, (to conclude,) consider vprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Maiestie is no temporizer in religion; she builds not religion vpon policie, but policie vpon religion; It is not the successe abroade, nor the change of seruants here at home can alter her; onely as the things themselues alter, so she applieth hir religious wisdome to correspond vnto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, & yet in discouering Faction from Conscience, & Softnes from Singu-

laritie. Farewell.

Your louing friend T. P."

The Welch Bayte is dedicated by Powell to Shakspere's patron, Lord Southampton, but oddly makes no allusion to that Lord's being set free from the Tower on James I.'s accession. He was committed there for his share in Essex's rebellion in Feb. 1600-1. Perhaps lines 2 and 4 below mean that his committal was unjust.

[sign. A, back] A Prelude vppon the name of Henry VVriothesly *Earle of* South-hampton.

Euer.

Hoso beholds this Leafe, therein shall reede, A faithfull subjects name, he shall indeede; The grey-eyde morne in noontide clowdes may steepe, But traytor and his name shall neuer meete.

Neuer.

othesly Earle of South-hampton
Baron of Tichfield: and of the Noble Order of the Garter.

Et golden artists practize quaint imposture,
And study to a semblance of perfection,
Let Leopers sweate to shew the world their moisture,
We study not to Patrones for direction:

Vnlesse the Honor that my lines shall owe, Can both protect vs, and approoue them too.

And such is thine, whose beames of Patronage
Doe heate alike in Iudgement, and in blood,
Both, with pure fires deriv'd from parentage,
Preserved in the Arke of Fortunes flood,
When Neptune, and the sea gods did abette,
With Cynthia in her fullest veines aspect.

Thou wholesome Honour, Chaste Nobilitie,
Be in protection mine, as Generous,
Without distent though all thy auncestrie:
It was thy wont, Thou canst not erre in vs:
And for the Test sufficeth me to know;
Thy Judgement best deserves my lines to owe.

Your Lordshippes
In all the nerues of my ability,
Tho: Powell.

At the end of the Welch Bayte are 8 lines of verse 'To the vnparaleld blesst disposition, The Lady Elizabeth Bridges'; two 6-line stanzas 'To the noble Gentleman, Sir Thomas Kneuet'; and one stanza of 6 'To the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Dyer.' The book's signatures are A 1. 2; B, C, D, in fours, E 1, 2.

Though Powell's notions of girls' education are not ours,

"Instead of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie: And instead of reading in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand":

yet no doubt Mrs Wm Shakspere shar'd them. Powell was a practical, sharp, business man, with a gift of racy speech. He was evidently a searcher of Records—see his book on them, and his advice to a father, p. 143 below, and specially his proposal to search the Wills Office for grants to charitable uses. I hope his readers will take to him somewhat.

The fourth book of Powell's was a professional one of 78 pages whose title is overleaf:—

DIRECTION FOR SEARCH OF

RECORDS

Remaining in the CHANCERIE,

TOWER,
EXCHEQUER, with the Limnes thereof: viz.

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kings } \textit{Remembranccr.} \\ \text{Lord Treasurers } \textit{Re-} \\ \textit{membrancer.} \\ \text{Clarke of the } \textit{Ex-} \\ \textit{treats.} \\ \textit{Pipe.} \\ \textit{Auditors.} \end{array} \right\} \text{The} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{First Fruits.} \\ \text{Augmentation of the} \\ \textit{Rcucnue.} \\ \text{Kings } \textit{Bench.} \\ \text{Common } \textit{Pleas.} \\ \text{Records of Courts} \\ \textit{Christian.} \end{array} \right.$

First Fruits.

For the clearing of all such Titles, and Questions, as the same may concerne.

With the accustomed Fees of Search: And diuerse necessarie Observations.

> Cui Author THOMAS POWELL, Londino-Cambrenfis.

— Cum tonat ocyus Ilex Sulphure discutitur sacro, quam tuque, domusque.

LONDON.

Printed by B. A. for *Paul Man*, and are to be sold at his Shop in Chancerie Lane, at the Signe of the Bowle; or in Distaffe Lane, at the Signe of the Dolphin. 1622.

Forewords. § 3. Powell's Lending & Borrowing. xxiii

Powell's fifth book is a merry one of 34 leaves:

Wheresoeuer you see mee, / Trust vnto your selfe. / Or, / The Mysterie / of Lending / and / Borrowrig. / Seria Focis: / Or, / The Tickling Torture. /—Dum rideo, veh mihi risu. / By Thomas Povvel, / London-Cambrian. / [4 bits of old ornament.] London, / Printed for Beniamin Fisher, and are / to be sold at his shop in Pater-noster-row, / at the signe of the Talbot. / 1623

It is a chaffy rollicking description of the different kinds of Borrowers—Courtier, Inns-of-Court man, Country Gentleman, and Citizen—and Lenders, Debtors' places of refuge, and debtors' shifts to avoid payment. (For the 2nd edition, see below, p. xxvi.)

Here is the beginning of how the Courtier handles the Citizen he wants to borrow money of, p. 3:—

" The Courtiers method followes.

First he invites his Creditor, to a dish of Court-Ling, with Masculine mustard plenty.

Then shewes him the privile lodgings and the new banquetting house.

Perhaps the Robes next.

Then the great Magolls tent in the Wardrobe: And so much serues for the first meeting, and to procure an appetite to the second.

To the second Meeting our Creditor is summoned, and brings behinde him his wife, like to a broken wicker glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the Masking roome.

Whereat the Courtiers skill in delivering of the Maskers names, vnder their severall disguises, did purchase an everlasting and indissoluble citie-consanguinitie with his female charge, over whom, the more sleepy hir spouse, the more vigilant was my cousen courtier.

And now he hath made his partie strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take vp of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee deuised for such like vse and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and inlarging of his credit, our Courtier pretends how he has received newes that his feign'd kinred is very sicke; and thereupon a takes occasion (in stead of venison) to send her a bottle of that famous and farre fetcht frontineack: He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there in a cursorie way of commending the art of man, in matter of Manufacture, he falls by chance vpon the remembrance of an extraordinarie stuffe, which hee saw a great personage weare lately in Court, not doubting but that his cousens [the Creditor or citizen's] shop did afford the like: His purpose was to have a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by for him till his moneyes came in: Yet with a very little intreaty so cleanly exprompted, he

xxiv Forewords. § 3. Powell's Attourneys Academy.

was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish foreman vnawares before his returne.

Giue vs old Ale, and booke it,
O giue vs old Ale, and booke it:
And when you would haue your money for all,
My cousen may chance to looke it."

This larky book of Powell's was followd by his sober sixth:-

The / Attourneys Academy: / or, / The Manner and / forme of proceeding practically, vpon / any Suite, Plaint, or Action whatsoeuer, in any / Court of Record whatsoeuer, within / this Kingdome: / especially, / in the Great Courts at / Westminster, to whose motion all other Courts of / Law or Equitie; as well those of the two Pro-/uinciall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall / London; as Those of like Cities / and Townes Corporate, And / all other of Record are diur-/nally moued: / With the Moderne and most vsuall Fees of the / Officers and Ministers of such Courts. / Published by his Maiesties speciall priuiledge, / and / Intended for the publique benefit of all / His Subiects. / Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus. / Tho: Powell / Londino-Cambrensis. / London, / Printed for Beniamin Fisher: and are to be sold at his / Shop in Pater-noster Row, at the signe of the / Talbot: 1623.

This is a regular Attorney's Handbook, dedicated to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England," and with a second dedication which does credit to Powell:—

"To / trve Nobilitie / and tryde Learning, / beholden / To no Mountaine for Eminence / nor Supportment for his Height, / Francis, Lord *Verulam*, and / Viscount S^{t.} *Albanes*.

Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good Seneca, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I received at thy reading:
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe again.
The same

THOMAS POWELL."

There were later editions in 1630, 1647, &c. Then came in 1627, Powell's seventh book, a professional one in 72 leaves:

The / Attornies / Almanacke, / Provided / & / desired / For the generall ease and daily vse of all / such as shall have occasion to remove any / Person, Cause or record, from an / inferiour Court to any the / higher Courts at / Westminster. / By Thomas Powell. / Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita / exitus.

London. / Printed by B. A. and T. F. for *Ben: Fisher*, and are to / be sold at his Shop at the signe of the *Talbot* without / *Aldersgate*. 1627.

Next appeard, in 1631, his eighth book, to which he did not put his name, as not half of it was his own work. The title is given by Mr Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, 1876, as

"The Repertorie of Records: remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt side at Westminster [and] the two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a briefe introductive Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tower: whereby to give the better Direction to the Records abouesaid. As also a most exact Calendar of all those Records of the Tower: in which are contayned and comprised whatsoever may give satisfaction to the Searcher for Tenure or Tytle of any thing. London, Printed by B. Alsop and F. Fawcet for B. Fisher, &c. 1631.

4to, A—Ee in fours, first leaf blank."

"Dedicated in verse 'To the Vnknowne Patron,' which is followed by a leaf with a somewhat enigmatical heading 'To the same Patron the great Master of this Mysterie Our Author payeth this in part of a more Summe due.' There is also a prose address to the Reader, in which Powell gives some account of the circumstances attending the publication."

Powell says he first thought of dedicating his book to Mercurie, who'd inspir'd him to write a bit of verse again, but as he can't find a Patron, he dedicates it to an unknown one, whom Mercury is to find out. The address to the Reader follows:—

To the Reader.

I may be obiected vnto me, that the collation of these things, is not all made vp and digested into this fabrique of mine owne materials and structure, and I doe ingenuously confesse it: Seeing the Foure Treasuries [p. 17—120] were collected by Mr. Agard, his private notes, a man very industrious and painfull in that kind²; and one who had continual recourse vnto the most, & custody of many of the rest of the same: And the latter Callender of the Records of the Tower [? p. 211—217], came to my hands from an Author vnknowne, even as the Printer was drawing the last sheet of the precedent worke from the Presse. I was content to give it wharfage, and to let it be layd on shore with the rest, but very vnwillingly; because I had no convenient roome left where to dispose it, without blaming of my Methode, in that it was not layd

¹ Mr Hazlitt also notes that "Verses signed T. P. are attached to Ford's Fames Memoriall, 1606."

² See his collections in the Public Record Office. - F.

xxvi Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's Sir Ed. Hales.

in his proper place, with the rest, that is, vnder the Title of the Tower, in the first Station: whereof I hope an equal censure, ever resting

Sub rostro Cycaniè.

The book is a 4to of 217 pages, besides Title and four pages of dedication, and describes where the Records are, what bundles of them, &c. are in the several rooms, and what Countries and places some of them refer to. Here's a short extract:—

" And now to the foure Treasuries.

The first is, the Treasurie of the Court of Receipt. In which are Two of the ancientest Bookes of Records in this Kingdome: made in William the Conquerours time, called *Doomes-day*.

The one Booke in Quarto, containing the Description or Suruey

of Essex, Norfolke, and Suffolke.

The other in Folio, being the like, for all the Shires in England,

from Cornwall, to the Riuer of Tyne.

Here is a Booke called the blacke Booke, made in Henry the seconds time, *De necessarijs Sca*[ca]rij observandis: And in the same, are the Oathes and Admittances of Officers inrolled, and other Notes of some consequence." [and so on].

This was followed by his 9th work, the last I find under his name, his Tom of all Trades printed below, p. 137—175. In 1635 came out a second edition of both his Tom of all Trades and earlier Mysteries of Lending and Borrowing, in one little volume with the following title, no doubt written by himself:—

The Art of Thriving. / Or, / The plaine pathway to / Preferment. / Together with / The Mysterie and Misery / of Lending and Borrowing. Consider it seriously. / Examine it judiciously. / Remember it punctually. / And thrive accordingly. / [by Thos. Powell, Gent. in MS.] Published for the common / good of all soits &c / London, / Printed by T. H. for Benjamin / Fisher, and are to be solde at his shop / at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-/gate street. 1635. [120 pages: at p. 121 a fresh title,]

The / Mistery / and / Misery / of / Lending / and / Borrowing / By / Tho: Powel, Gent. / London: / Printed by Thomas Harper for / Benjamin Fisher, and are to be / sold at his shop in Aldersgate / streete at the signe of the / Talbot. 1636. [p. 121—254.]

Of the Sir Edward Hales whom Powell praises so warmly in his Dedication to his *Tom of all Trades*, the Rev. W. S. Scott Robertson of Sittingbourne sends me the following account:

"Sir Edward Hales was the first of his name at Tunstall.\" He
"I come now to speak of the Hales, present lords of Tunstall, a family of

was originally of Tenterden, but marrying the Harlackenden heiress, of Woodchurch, he removed to her seat. He was created a baronet in 1611. After the death of his first wife he married the widow (née Martha Carew) of Sir James Cromer of Tunstall, and removed thither. Sir James Cromer died in 1613, and left no son. One of his three daughters, Christian, the youngest, who inherited Tunstall, married Sir Edward Hales's eldest son John, and thus the Hales family became fixed at Tunstall. John Hales died in his father's lifetime, but his son Edward, who was born about 1626, ultimately succeeded his grandfather Sir Edward.

"The first baronet, with whom your author Thomas Powell was so pleased, died in 1654, and was buried in Tunstall Church. The present representative of the family is Miss Hales of Hales Place, Canterbury, whose name figured in the statements of the claimant to the Tichborne estates. She has very recently sold her Tunstall property."

great antiquity; but as their interest here is not of so long standing, I shall go no higher than the last century, beginning with

"Sir Edward Hales, Knight, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet 1611; he served in several parliaments, and took part with those that raised the rebellion against king Charles I. He died October 6th, 1634, aged 78.* This is he for whom the noble monument in Tunstall church was erected with his effigies in full proportion cut in marble. His wives were Deborah, da. and heir of Martin Lackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., and Martha the relict of Sir James Crowmer.

"John, the eldest son of Sir Edward, by Deborah his first lady, married Christian, the youngest of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Crowmer aforesaid; and by this marriage was Tunstall brought into the family of Hales. This John died in the life-time of his father, and left issue Sir Edward Hales, baronet, a zealous royalist, who in his younger years risqued his person and fortune in the cause, insomuch that he was forced to abscond and live beyond the seas on account of the great debts he had contracted for the king's service. He died in France some years after the Restoration." From the 'History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent.' By Ed. Rowe Mores, printed in Nichols's Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. i. pp. 33, 34. (Mores died in 1778, this History was publisht in 1780.)

"This Sir Edward Hales was a commissioner for the survey of Aldington in 1608, Sheriff of Kent in a year between 1611 and 1620, and M.P. for Kent in a Parliament preceding the Long Parliament."—Furley's History of the Weald of Kent, Ashford, 1874, vol. ii. Pt. II. pp. 522, 602.

¹ Sir Edward Hales, the third of that name, but the first baronet, of Tenterden, Kent, was knighted, and on June 29, 1611, was created a Baronet. He was twice married, first to Deborah, only daughter and heir of Martin Herlackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons, viz. John his eldest son,

^{*} See the cp. ded to Powell's Tom of all Trades. Lond. 1631, 4to.

xxviii Forewords. § 5. Thanks to Helpers.

- § 4. The last piece in the present volume, "The Glasse of Godly Love, Wherein all married couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures,"—I was tempted to add because it made a kind of Appendix to the Tell-troth tract of 1593, and because it was part of a thin treatise belonging to me, that Mr Hazlitt believes to be unique, but which is unluckily imperfect. It is undated, but is printed by Richard Jones, who took up his freedom of the Stationers' Company on the 7th of August 1564 (Arber's Transcript, I. 278), had one press in May 1583 (ib. 248), and printed till 1600. Whether the Glasse is by Thomas Pritchard, the writer of the first part of the volume, or I[ohn] R[ogers] who seems to have written the second part, I cannot tell. It follows the I. R. Discourse. The title-page of Pritchard's tract is on p. xxix, opposite.
- § 5. I have now but to thank the Librarian of Peterborough Cathedral for trusting his unique 1593 Tell-troth to me; Mr Henry Huth for his loan of Powell's Welch Bayte; Mr W. G. Stone of Walditch for so kindly making the Contents, Notes, and Index to this volume; Miss E. Phipson for paying for Tom of all Trades, and our friend who hides his name, for his gift of the first Tell-troth reprint.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3, St. George's Square, London, N. IV. July 11, 1876.

who married Christian one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Jas. Cromer, knt., and in her right became possessed of the manor of Tunstall and other large estates, and died in his [father's] life-time; his other children were Edward, Samuel, Thomas, and a da. Christian. His second wife was Martha, da. of Sir Mathew Carew, and relict of Sir Jas. Cromer. He died Oct. 6, 1654, in his 78th year, is buried in Tunstall Church. His grandson Edward (son of his eldest son John) succeeded him; this Edward was about 13 years of age at his father's death in 1639. "He succeeded his grandfather in title and estate in 1654; but being most zealously attached to the royal cause, he risqued his fortune as well as his person, in the support of it; by which means he ruined the former, and was obliged on that account to abandon his native country, to which he never afterwards returned, but died in France soon after the restoration of K. Charles II." He was one of the three who escaped with James II. in 1688. Abstract taken from Hasted's History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 576.

¹ On '1628, July 9, Thom. Prichard of Jesus College,' Oxford, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, pt. 1 (*Athena*, vol. ii.), col. 443, ed. Bliss. But I do not suppose that this is our T. Pritchard.

THE SCHOOLE

of honest and vertuous lyfe:

Profitable and necessary for all estates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheesely) for the pettic Schollers, the yonger forte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P.

Also, a laudable and learned
Discourse, of the worthynesse of honorable Medlocke, written in the behalse of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes,
(generally) for their singular instruction, to choose them vertuous and honest

Husbandes:

But (most specially) sent writte as a Iewell with a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By her approved freend and kinsemen. I. R.

Imprinted at London by

Richard Fohnes, and are to be folde at his shop ouer against S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate.

Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift

Beeing

Robin Good-fellowes newes out of those Countries, where unhabites neither Charity nor honesty.

With his owne Inuective against Ielosy.



LONDON

Imprinted by Robert Bourne.

1593.



Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift.

[sig, A 2]



Marry, fir, now you looke as if you expected newes: me thinks I fee your eares open to heare what Robin good fellow will tel you; & because your defire shal not be altogether frustrate, you shal, if you will, be somewhat the

wifer before you goe. I am affured it is not stale; and were you as long in reading of it, as the Senators have bene in agreeing vppon it, I know you would craue many baetes before you had paffed the mainger. But behold, they had the paine, and you may have the pleafure; and I am glad that it was my fortune to meete with it; and doubtleffe it was a great haffard, that a worfer carrier had not hapned For thus it fel out: walking towards Islington in a frosty morning, I by chaunce lighted into the company of a boone companion, that feemed no leffe pleafing in flew, then he prooued in fubstaunce. A merry mate hee was, and matched with one of his owne minde, a fimple fellow, that marchinge vnder the habbite of true meaninge, tels all that he fees, and euery thing he thinkes to be true: Tell-troth is my name, and you may trust me if you will, for I affure you, that he that crediteth me most, shall not speede worst. We two matches mated by good fortune, Robin good-fellow the one, who neuer did worse harme then correct manners, and made diligent maides: and I, Tell troth, the other, who euer haue beene a fworne enemy to lafye lurdens, and a professed foe to Iack No-body: no fooner fettinge our eyes, the one on the other, but knew each others conditions, falling forthwith into familiarity. And it being my hap to enquire first from whence hee came, hee made it not scrupulous to certifie his comming from hell, a place (fayde hee) that is odious, and vet to none but to them that feare it: Mary (qd. hee) Robin goodfellow, that could go inuifible from 1 his infancy, had it by nature giuen [r sig: A 2,

him, that he should bee subject to no inferiour power whatsoeuer, either ruling or inhabiting vnder the highest elemente, with a generall priuiledge to fearch euery corner, and enter any castell to a good purpose. By libertye of which pattente, I croffed the river Stix in Carons bont without his leaue, giuinge him a patt on his drowfie pate for my paffage. And from him vnknowne, I came to Cerberus (that Lubberly Porter), who was makinge faste of the brand gates, which were faine to bee opened, that the greate Magog with his companye that were fummoned to the Parliamente, might enter without interruption. He heard my trampling, and therefore asked who was there? but when I would not aunsweare, he thought it was Lelaps his curre, bidding him to lie downe, and so likewise I easely entred the dungion. To tell what I there faw, were no newes: because it hath beene tolde by fo many, whereof foome of them have not reported amitte. But going on to the mercilesse pallace, the gates stoode wide open, so that any might enter ther without controlement. With in the great Hall whereof, were affembled the whole fociety of bad company, a generall conuocation beeing called about the deciding of many matters which were not altogether perfected. There was a greate thronge, and no little sturre, the seuerall billes of complainte which were there exhibited of many matters, beeing fo many, as they would require an age to rehearfe them, especially seeing this one matter wherof my newes confifteth, was a hearing and deciding feauen yeares.

But to come to the matter, all the worst diuels being placed in their orders according to their custome (which is needlesse to set downe, for that I hope there is none heere that euer meane to be partakers of any of their Offices) the Speaker vitered an Oration that would have made a mastie to have broke his collor with girning thereat, declaringe what a continuall profite Ielofie, aboue all other vices, brought to that place, praifinge so highly the commodity thereof as, in his diuclish iudgement, hell would be passinge beggerly without that helpe. Manifestinge how easely mens and womens mindes were [1 sig. A 3] drawn to all cor ruption thereby, with fuch a dilatinge narration as neuer an Orator in hell could have spoken more. After the finishinge of whose fustie framed speech, there was a quest of enquiry called, whose forman deliuered a whole bundell of scroles and papers,

wherein were fett downe the causes that helped Ielosie, with the meanes that hindered the fame, as also the kindes thereof, with feuerall complaintes made both by men and women that were vexed with the like. The which I will, quoth Robin, deliuer vnto thee if thou fo wilt: whereof, I beeing wonderfull defirous, for Mens hominis nouitatis auida, hee went on with it as followeth.

The first cause (quoth he) is a constrained loue, when as parentes Parents do by compulsion coople two bodies, neither respectinge the ionning a cause of of their hartes, nor havinge any care of the continaunce of their wellfare, but more regardinge the linkinge of wealth and money together, then of loue with honefty: will force affection without liking, and cause loue with Ielosie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or else matche them with inequallity, joyning burning fommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder. to rich cormorants of threefcore or vpwards. Whereby, either the diflike that likely growes with yeares of difcretion engendereth difloyalty in the one, or the knowledge of the others disability leades him to Ielofie.

What is the cause of so many housholde breaches, deuorcements, Rob. Goosd-1 and continuall difcontentmentes, but vnnaturall difagreementes by digresvnmutuall contractes? Will the Turtel change while her mate is natu[re] of true, or the Swanne be cruell as long as his female is loyall? there be disloyalty betweene mates linked by their owne election (as he sees an doubtleffe there is), how can vnconftancy be condemned in those that nicke to be neuer had that liberty? were the hart as fubiect to the law as by his fem[ale,] the body is, I would thinke fuch marriages lawfull, but fince he never the one hath liberty, when the other is in captiuity, I know, Tell troth, back] [1 sig. A 3, (quoth Robin) it will not cease to seeke reuenge for his bodies flauery, vuleffe grace 1 correcteth, by fhewinge what the law of God forbiddeth. Pretious iewels are chofen, and deere thinges loued; but at what price are those rated at which are easely obtained? Doubtleffe at fo low a reckoninge as pipple ftones are, in comparison of pearles; the one had without cost or trauell, and the other not to be obtained without both. A leffon learned with ftroakes, ftaies with the scholler, when a sentence read without regarde, is not so soone in at one eare, as out at the other: And loue gained with fighes &

f[or]ced loue Ielosy.

fellowes sion. The the Sw[anne] If is, that at such time[as] vnconstan[t] perfourme[d] Swan commit the fault her vne hath d him & he beelaine, he es the with his own

flightes encreaseth, when obtained otherwise, it soone decayeth. Durum pati meminisse dulce, & an ounce of pleasure stolne with seare of a pound of vnrest, makes vs still to thinke on the sweetenesse of loue, and all wayes to be ftriuing to continue it, when the contrary will procure lighte regarde thereof. How farre more delightfome is ftolne venison to him that hath inough, then his owne? And how pleafant is that meat in tafte which is dainty? Thinges farre fetchte and deere boughte, are good for Ladies: and trifles will often better The Diuels crye for mislike, but who beares content then treasure. the brunt of it? The feete that flie from it, not the head that bredd the baite; the man can prouide for himselfe, when the poore woman is voide of all fuccour, and he will have a cloake to hide his mifery when she shall want a cap to couer her 1 extremitye. She must be are the lumpes and lowres; if happily the escapes the blowes, the biting 2 woordes, if not worfe, euen cruell hart-breakinges and back-beatinges. Thus shall the Fathers couetuousnes be cause of the childes vndooing, and his harts-ease beginning of her woe, and ende of her happinesse: his likinge meeting with her loathing, which shall vndoe her by Ielowfy. Hath God by an inftinct of nature ingrafted loue fo farre forth in vnreasonable creatures, as they doo not onelye choose their mates (as all creatures doe), but live faithfullye to them, and confantly with them, so longe as life endureth; and shall that priviledge be taken from man-kinde, whome onely he hath endowed with reason and discretion? The birdes bringe vpp the yong, vntill they can shift for themselues, and then gives them leave to vie their 13 leaf A 4] liberty: the beaftes of the fielde haue the felfe 3 fame freedome, and the fishes in the Sea, no other restrainte; onely man is injurious vnto himselfe, by vanaturall vsage of his deerest bloud. They care for their children vntill they be past care: and euen then themselues freed from that charge, they bring their young ones to a greater crosse: geuing them forrow for their pleasure, and vnrest in steede of They doe not matche them with the mates their hartes ease. childrens eies haue chosen, but with the men their owne greedy desire haue found out: little fore-thinking of their childrens after-greeuinge, and their owne repenting. They regard not now a dayes the old

> fayinge of the wife man, I had rather have a man then mony, but teflify by their doinges that they esteeme more of wealth then of

[z orig. his] [2 orig. btting

Men [make] themsel[ues] vnnatur[al] to their[chil-] dren by t[heir] matches

humanity. They forget what themselues have beene, and will not remember what themselves have done. Their coveteousnesse choaketh their charity, and their worldly care keepeth em ¹ for knowinge [1 orig. keepe them. diuinity. They abhorre and grow mad to heare their children entreat for = from.] for the maides that please them, or for the men their soules loue, but tirant like they fay, sic volo sic iubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas: I like him, and thou shalt have him; love this man or I will loath thee. This effecte hath coueteousnesse in the father; and beholde what discontentmente it worketh in the childe.

He or shee by duety is bound to their Parentes commaundement, and for feare of their displeasure are linked to continuall misery. What faith the husband to the wife, but, this was thy fathers worke, to winne me by his mony; and fince hee hath his will with the want of my weale, I wil not live alone in forrow, but 2 will make thee tafte [2 orig. bnt] of the fame fauce. Thy Father hath his, and why should I not have mine? So faith he, and fo fareth shee: hee inuentes meanes to make her mourne, and leaues no practife vntried, which is like to procure her mifery. They liue in one house, as two ennemies lie in the field: their habitation being feuered, like twoo campes that bee ready for battell. Hauocke is made lauishly, of that their fathers gathered corruptly, that either being spente lasciulously in the company of ftran3gers, or licentiously in controuersies at law. So great [3 an- orig. 4 mischiefe ariseth of coueteousnesse in matches of matrimonye. [4 leaf A 4, Touching the faluing of which fore, it is most requisite that the back! children should have their free liberty in likinge, as the fathers have had theirs in choofing. For as those matches are best, wher there is a mutuall agreement betweene parentes and their children, fo do those for the most part loue best, that have the priviledge of choofinge for themselues. My cheefest reason may bee drawne from contentment in loue, which is fatisfied with any thinge, according to the faying, Loue hath no lacke; and my old leffon, Selfe do, felfe haue, makes the patient often not to complaine of a great fore, when an other will cry out for no harme. Experience hath best displayed it to fome: and common reason cannot but make it knowne to all. For who that hath done him felfe an iniury will complaine thereof, for feare of beeing 5 accompted a foole? Or what woman that hath [5 acc- orig. burnte her finger will blame others for the deede done by her felfe?

You might have tooke better heede, and It was your owne fault, are two shrode plasters for a greene wound: and the minds of men are best pleased with their owne thoughts, & women with nothing more contented then to have their willes. When a woman distrustes of any helpe to come from any part-taker, shee will bee glad to please hir husband, & they two falling foorth, she (having none to mainetaine her in her pride) will bee contented to reconcile her selfe vnto him by kinde submission. And where a louing kisse will save a great deale of cost, if there it bee not vsed, mony cannot be better bestowed then in buying wit to save the next charges. But how now, Robin! thou hast beene over longe in thy digression. I have indeede, and therfore, frend Tell-troth, I returne to my matter.

Indiscreete gouernment the second cause of Ielosy.

[sig. B]

A fecond cause of Ielocy springeth from indiscretion in gouernment, which is either in one or both of them that are linked together in mariage, neither of them having reason to knowe what belonges to either, or neither of them discretion rightly to correct what is amisse in either. Loue will bee too wanton vnlesse he be whipped with rushes, and ouer dull if his winges be clipped; giue him his liberty, and he will runne at randum; 1 flut him vp in prifon, and he will be flarke mad; fo that gentle correction must barre his liberty, and mild chasticement preuent his madnesse; a wanton toung bewraies a lasciuious hart, and by the vttraunce of the toung, wicked thoughts are manyfested; therfore, either to gaze lasciuiously, or to fpeake wantonly, may moue Iellofy. Modesty in a young woman is as a garland of wheat in a joyfull haruest; and discretion in a man like an oliue braunch after long difcention: she honoureth her hufband with a figne of happinesse, and he contentes his wife with a pledge of loue; by his wifdome hee teacheth her knowledge, and by her obedience she makes him glad; his correction is as a warme cup of drinke to a cold stomake, and her reformation as a sonne-shine daye after much raine. Peace flourisheth where wisdome ruleth, and ioy raigneth where modesty directeth. To please the harte of a husbande, is to ioyne vnity with the whole world; and to be in the loue and fauour of a wife is a freedome from much care; wisdome therefore in men to gouerne their common wealths, and modeftie in women, are of no finall meanes to continue vnity, and destroy Iellofy.

Another cause is causelessed discontentment, when the man will Causes discontentment without occasion, and the woman fret, not knowing any reason, tentmesnt] and especially when either of them wil oppose them selues against other, and both of them maintaine their hartes pride: when a man will finde fault without cause, or a woman complaine of two much eafe, it showes a troubled minde and breeds suspect. He that cannot be merry at home, goes about to perswade hee will be mad abroad; and shee that lowers on her husband when he comes home, showes fhe had as liue haue his roome as his company: where loue is, there is no thought of battell; and there, what absence hath hurt, presence will heale. A kind and louing wife forgetteth all vnkindnesse by the fight of her best beloued, as a child doth the correction of his mother by the receipt of an apple from her; and a discreete husband is no longer displeased then a fault is a doing. Contentment is an excellent fauce to eury dish, and pleasantnesse a singular portion to preuent mischiefe: the head is neuer¹ euill; but either it is ²pleasantly disposed [* orig. nener] or knauishly occupied. A merry countenance is a figne of content-[2 sig. B, ment, but froward wordes are messenger of melancholly. In what the hart delighteth, with that it is best pleased; and harde it is to hault before a creppell. A frowne lodeth, and a fmile lightneth; to frowne therefore kindly, is a barre to Iellocy: but loading crabbedly, men vndoe themselues speedily.

Many men delighting in much company, cannot be contented to [M]ens follye [the] fourth. tollow their defire abroad by vfing new familiarity, but wil bring daily grief vnto their houses, as little regarding their dispositions with whome they ioyne frendship, as the occasions that may be offered of dislike by after repentings; so that following their pleasure in satisfieng that humor, they fall afterwards into a worse vaine, being suspitious of ouer much familiarity to have crept with their acquaintance, and doubtful least their copesmates are matched with them in their darlinges bosomes. When they will begin so to watch their wives eies, and dogge their frendes lookes, as the mife shall not pepe without daunger of the cats, nor the filly women speake without fuspition of falshood, Others will bring strang women vnto their wives to welcome: fpeaking lauishly of their beauties, and vndecently in their praises, they will make comparison without discretion, and giue iudgement without wildome. They regard present pleas-

ure, but care not for future profit, not fo much as thinking on the chilling winter in the heate of fummer, nor of warre in time of peace. They confider not how loue wil brooke no equalitie, nor marriage allowe of the least vnconstancy; and both these, though themselues have beene the procurers of their own discontentment, yet will they lay all the burthen on their wives backes, either plaging them in beeing fuspitious, or punishing them by making them ielious. The old fayng is, that he which will no pennance doe, must shonne the cause that belongs thereto: had I wist, is a slender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifest badge of folly, especially when a man will leave the bridg, to trie to leap ouer the ditch and fall into it. Thought is free; but when the toung blabs, it is figne the hart 1 aboundes. What an euident token of folish blindnesse is it, for a man to seeke many daies to please his mind, when afterwards, having found and inioying it, he will mislike thereof in a moment, by fight of a new objecte? O! that is a weake harte that hath fuch a wandring eie! and hee is no fmall foole that fo little esteemes of experience, as hee delighteth in the practise of vnknowne conclusions. Might it please them to vse lesse wordes and more wit, fewer companions or kinder familiarity, they should not so lightly enter the hazard of Iellofy.

The ill co[un]cell of the wicked th[e] fift cause [of] Ielosy.

[sig. B 2]

Ill counfell is the next cause of Iellosy; wher by the wicked (whose immaginations are only to soe discentions by bruting cuil supposes, bred of a suspitious braine, & vttered with colored hipocrisse) labour to sette debate betweene true hartes, and to shuffle in suspition amongst those that are free from thought thereof. They will strine to perswade by liklyhoods, & confirme ascertions with salse oathes. They will place betweene man and wise a tree of discorde, and plant in peacable houses, rootes of variance; their toungs shall be wagging to wish them to tast of the fruit thereof, their heads studying how to bring them to like of the practise of their premeditated mischiese. They will alleadg, lo thus it hath proued by others, and so hath it fell out vnto them for want of suspition. Think on the worst (say they) for the best is not hurtfull; but thinke of them as of the worst, say I, for they are most hurtfull.

Credite
g[i]uen to
fal[se]
reportes
t[he] sixt.

And these make-bates will not let to brute reportes, though meerely false, to confirme their sayings, cloking their mischiese with

the habit of good meaning, and hiding their knauery with a show of puritie. They will tatle tales as if fraught with truth: and vtter flanders, with protestations. They will inuent to perswade, and fweare to confirme: flicking burres on their backes, that were free from motes; and filling their heads with wonders, that before were in quiet. They ioy to fet discention in a louing plat, and reioyce to see debate betweene faithfull frendes; they hunt after controuerfie, and honour Iellofy. And because themselues are old, they will hate all that are younger then themselues, and suspect all, for that themselues haue loued 1 the game: experience of knauery is a pestilent helpe to [r sig. B 2, back] Iellofy; and if the mother hath loued to playe false, shee will bee fure to mistrust the daughter. Beware, for I have tried: tis a vile whip to fcourge a fearefull hart with; and perswasions from a diffembling hart are wondrous hurtfull to an vnconftant louer. It is a fmall bit that will not make a hungry dogge gape; and an vnfauery morfell that will not content a longing appetite. A will, with a diuelish wit, will practife any thing; and what is it that they cannot effecte? Marry, the best helpe to preuent their mischiese, is misbeliese; and the readiest mean to trie truth, is, to search into their own liues. And for that you shall, Tell-Troth, quoth hee, the better vnderstand the diuelishnesse of such creatures as are these makebates, I will tell thee a merry tale, I have hard there tould, of one who was crost in her wicked fuspition.

There was an olde trott, that in her youth having beene a true [A m]erry tale [of a] traueller, and now through her loose life was worne to the bones and make [bate. past all goodnesse, dwelled neere vnto a proper young woman matched with a very honest man. This olde beldame, being good for nothing but to keepe the cat out of the ashes, and to prattell ouer a pot of nut-browne ale, would spend the rest of her time which was not imployed ouer the fagget, in fitting at the dore to watch what company reforted to the young mans house afore said. Whether, for that he was of a trade, did come divers, some to bargaine, other about other bufinesse, and amongst the rest, this man had a frend, being a young man, which did often repaire thether. The olde cat having feene him there twife or thrife, beeing at a certaine time amongst many of her other gossopes, (like vnto her felfe in condition and of her own stampe by antiquity,) called this honest mans wives name into question,

fo fetting her worne chappes a wagging, as the burthened her con-

sat continu-ally by the fire side.

fcience with the confirmation of her miftruftfullnesse concerning her huing. The reforte thether was her reason, and the fight of the former younge man her conclusion for the truth thereof. her companions (somewhat better disposed then her selfe) gaue their [2 sig. B 3] judgement with fome tollleration concerning the fuspected dishonesty, of which she misliking, reproued their light of beliefe with a shamelesse interrogation, howe shee could bee honest, seeing such a one doth reforte daily vnto her, who is like to bee a wild youth, and therefore cunning, and fhe a young woman foone to be inticed: we know (faid she) by experience the dealings of such mates, having our felues beene fully tried by their flightes: verily they cannot be well thought on; nor may she be liked, nor her husband praised, for giving Afires-bir[d,] fuch entertainment. Vpon which report, her withered gossipes gaue vppe their verdict, that then indeede she could not be honest; and so for that time the court broke vppe. They gon, this wether-beaten fieres-bird could not be fatisfied with thus much, but the chuffe her husband comming in, shee could not chuse but tell him of the company that had beene with her, and of the talke that had patfed betweene them, with a recitall of her newly broched mischiese, assiming it was great pittie, feeing she was a very proper young woman, and hee an honest man, a young beginner that was like to doe well, were he not ouer-reached by fuch companions. Doubtleffe (quoth flice) it were good, and a thing well pleafing vnto god to impart thus much vnto her husband, peraducuture he, filly man, mistrust no such matter, or is loth to offend his wife by telling her of it; but if hee feekes not prefent remedy, howe is it possible hee should escape vindoing? To which supposed impossibility hee agreed; I thinke, lead thereunto rather for feare then otherwife, as you shall hereafter gather. Well, shortly they agreed to send for the yong man, and at his comming fent for a pinte of wine, giuing him therewith to gnaw, fuch cruftes of fmall comfort, as tended both to his owne difcredite & his wines dishonesty: both their opinions concerning such men which refort to his house, as they feared, rather to her then to him: as also the reportes of other their neighbours that greatly pittied them, miffrufting no lesse then they had saide, confirmed their slaunders, endinge their tittell tattell with perfwafions to forewarne their wines of fuch

company. With which vnlooked-for banquet, the younge man, being stroken amased (and maruell not, since it was meat 1 of so hard a distance it was meat 1 of so hard a gesture), stoode still for a season; but after callinge his wittes together (of which he had no small neede being mated with two such rookes) They are [ro]okes for affured them of his wives conftancye toward him, that loved him most thing tought follows. intierly, and obeyed him most duetyfully. And touching the resorte, his trade required customers, and not of the worst fort (for he was a shoomaker); and so lightly thanking them for their protested good will (giuing as fmall credit to their prittell prattell as he had ftomacke to their cheere) he departed home, nothing leffe louing, or thinking worse of his wife then hee did before. But they, seeing their purpose The nature tooke so little effecte, grewe mad, especially the she beetell, that in a beestellis, great rage she posted to the tauerne, where she found some of the whole [fo]rce to slie quest of inquiry aforesaid, to whome she blased the rancour of her algainst estable man hart, showing them howe shamefully their young neighbour was or bleast, tosting wronged, and dishonestly abused, through his kind simplicity. Where-[th]em. vppon this honest man was dubbed amongst them a wittall; but while mother trot and her fellowes were descanting on others honesty, there came in a new goffip, and not without newes, affuring this breede-bate that her husband (the olde fornicator that had beene with his wife a bate-maker) was at the flower de luce, a house of as good resort of honest women as any be in brid-well, and had sent for thether wine and other good cheere; which brought fo bad cheere to her hart, as in all hafte shee did runne thether: where not finding him, but vnderflanding, I know not by what meanes, that hee was newe gon, shee fals fo hot to fcoulding with the whipperginne her office, as from wordes they fell to blowes, fo as in the ende our good neighbour came home to her husband with a painted face, as if shee had beene at her nuntions with cats. Well, beeing come, Ioane Stoomp-foot and Tom Totty, fell to 'thou knaue' and 'thou queane,' with other fuch shamelesse tearmes, as her husband, not able to ouermaister her that way, began to beelabour her faire and handsomely with a faggotstick, a present remedy to charme such diuelish tounges. With which was noise (for doubtlesse it was great, especially the longe toungd beare make-bate. getting the worse), the neighbours beeing troubled, were 2 forced of [2 leaf B 4] pitty to come in, who, feeing the fray bloody, feuered the knaue and the queane, and so parted the combate. But the scoulding champion

(hauing good occasion to set her chappes a-wagging, that were faine to slaunder before, for want of other matter) cursed the time that euer shee met with such a whore master knaue, telling the whole circumstaunces of the matter, with tearmes fit for women of her owne stampe. And her husband, on the contrary part, forced to heare her tale, requites it with a iadish tricke, that she was taken with before time by him in his celler with a collier vpon two sackes of coales. And thus both of them that accused others so lately of dishonesty, were now by all condemned for a Ielious knaue and a mistrustfull baude, worthy titles for such makebates.

I therefore warne (quoth Robin) both all fuch Ielious goffipes as loue to have owers in every mans bote, and could wish that all mens daggars belonged to their sheathes, and also those driggell draggells (whose wicked and lasciulous lives have wasted their bodies to the bones, and yet not worne the tippes of their tounges) to leave to be so rash in their judgementes, or to let their shamelesse instrumentes to blabb such vnconscionable vntrothes to so abhominable an ende. And I also councell both men and women, lightly to regard their backebitings and slaunders, that by vncharitable intermedling with their doings, seeke to move strife and procure dislike, between those that love faithfully and live quietly together, never giving occasion of suspition the one to the other, seeing that slaunders are onely likely hoodes, and no likelyhood certaine.

The hard vsage ether of a man towardes his wife, or of [a] woman towards her husbande, i[s] the seauent[h] cause of Ielosy.

[r leaf B 4, back]

A feauenth cause proceedeth of hard vsage, when as a man will brutishly vse his wise by strokes, and currishly barre her of matrimoniall kindnesse. The man that will liste vp his hand against his wise, is like the horse that doth sling out his heeles to strike his keeper; the one having a knauishe, and the other a iadish tricke. Will a man of loue launce his owne slesse, thoughe some of deuotion scourge their owne backes? Doth not the dog seare the staffe that hath stroken him? and can a woman like of the hand that hath hurt her? He that calleth his brother soole in langer, is in daunger of hell sire: and thinkes the other man that hatefully beates his wise, or the woman that reviles her husband, which are neerer the one to the other, to escape that surnace? It is an easie matter to find a staffe to beate a dogge, but vnpossible to meete with a dogge that will love to be beaten with a staffe, and as hard to finde a kinde husband that

will hold uppe his hand in anger against his wife, which is as his owne hart vnto him; but it is very easie, for that they are ouer-com mon, to light vppon breakers of wedlocke, that will hold vp their armes, bend their fifts, and beat their filly wives, at their comming home from bad women, loathinge those that loue them, and louing those that lothes them but for advauntage. There was also information made of many, that havinge vsed their wives wondrous ill all their life time, dealing with them as rigorously as many iades do with the Offlers knauishly, that notwithstanding their cruelty hath beene manifest to the whole world: yet lying vpon their deathes bed, as late as possible they could, and yet better late then neuer, haue, stroken with penitencie, confessed their faultes with forrow, and affirmed with protestations that they know there were, nor euer haue beene, more faithfull, carefull, obediente, nor louinge wiues then theirs: I pray you what would fuch haue prooued, if they had beene matched with like kind-harted men. Well, I leave that to your iudgement, and will come to the last cause of Ielosy.

Which being not the leaft, is a leaud behauiour in company, when by loose trickes it may bee adjudged that nothing but oportunity is wantinge to their inciuillity. But where shame tames not, there blame maines not. A festred fore must have a searching salue; and a shamelesse smile an open frowne. They that carelessy offende the law of modestye, must not taste of the sweete of courtesy; and they which respect not humanity, shalbe troubled with Ielosy. Blame not the childe that feares the rod, having felt the fmart therof, nor mislike those that shonne soure thinges, having tasted of suger. A hound that knowes the game, delightes in hunting; and geue the keeper leaue to bestirre him1selse when a curre chaseth his deare. Hee [1 sig. C] that steales by night, escapes often when the day-theeues is apprehended; but an impudent and desperate robber must have a short dome, for that a plaine matter needes a small triall. He that feares not the halter will hardly become true; and they that care not for fuspect, are feldome honest. A still dogge bites fore, but the barking cur feares more. The hart is the director of the other partes. I pray you then what thinkes he that shames not who see? Fy of hipocricie, but the diuell take impudencie.

These causes thus set downe were reduced into these eight kindes.

Knauish and foolish doters and fornicators, backebiters and liers. Bankrotes and hipocrites: the two first kindes have effectes from the third, fourth, and eight causes, the two second from the first and fist; the fix and seauen kindes, of the fourth and fist causes; and the two last proceede, of the second, third, and seauenth causes, of every one of which there was a severall bil of complaint delivered, which for that they were very tedious, I have but onely brought awaye the endorcementes of them.

The first was, that whereas Iasper Impudencie lately entertained into the familiarity of one Ioone, good wench, that had vsed him very kindly in secrete, had to her great discredite, for that she barred him of that Priuiledge in an open assembly, called her name and same in question, by accusing her of plaing fast and loose (about a kind glaunce that shee had geuen vnto an other, that had better deserved her fauour), in consideration of whose foolish knauery and knauish folly, shee desired redresse against him.

The fecond was, against the folly of a yong nouice, that was so passionate for the loue of a maide, that he could not see any to speake vnto her, but straighte would fall into a founde through Ielosy. An other complained of an old dotor of fourfcore yeares of age, that had gotten, through the compulsion of her parentes, her selfe in marriage, being but two and twenty. Who through his watching, and the dodging of an old beldam his fifter, being in house with him, was so tormented, that if shee were neuer so little out of both their sightes: he prefently thought his head belgan to bud, though it were in the deade of winter, and woulde most shamefully raile vpon her. And fhee, having learned fome fubtelty by the old foxes craft, on a time ftole foorth to her fathers to fupper, not making any priuy to her parting, and there flayed vntill nine of the clock. When comming home, shee found her husband a bed, that had almost fretted his hart out for his wives long tarrying: who no fooner faw her, but fell a threatning of her, and firicktly examining her where shee had beene: But shee, beeing well acquainted with that custome, fained, that by chaunce, comming from her fathers, shee met with a younge gentleman, an old frend of hers, that would not be faid nay, but she must of force go fup with him. And affirming that to be true, shee fell

[x sig. C, back]

downe vppon her knees and craued his pardon. At the hearing of which, yea, and before fine had quite done (now thinking that to be certeine, which before he onely miftrusted, being verily persuaded that the destinies hadd crowned him with a paire of hornes for his New-yeares gift), he spitted at her, laying Bridewell in her dish, and the cart for her trencher: not only resusing her company for his bedfellow, but driving her out of his chamber with a bedstaffe. Neither contented with this, but in all hast in the morning hee trotted vnto her fathers: infourming him of many false tales, and amongst the rest, her last nights tricke was brought in for a confirmation of his hard fortune in beeinge matched with suche a one. But her father, knowing that to be false, and the other as likely, persuaded him from his Ielosy, which would not be, notwithstanding.

The fourth kind defired iudgement against their husbands, that, having beene married to them the space of threescore yeers, and growing wery of them, brought home to their houses yoong men, vnder the titles of their kinsmen, to haunt their companies, with commandment that they should vie them as well as them selues. Who (through their ciuill behavior deserving no lesse) being on a certaine time in their chamber with them, were taken by their husbandes with other of their copesmates, that through bribes proved false wittnesses, by which the old fornicators procured devorcementes, and married younge wenches.

¹ As for make-bates, there was framed against them a bill, to the [I sig C 2] effecte of the tale aforetould of them. And touching their commorades the liers, they were complained of, for that in open assemblies they would speake against Ielosy, cursing him and his followers. But beeing matched accordinge to their hartes desire, with women that are most faithfull and honest, enioying through them the happinesse of a blessed estate, they, ouercloyed with the sweete it yeeldeth, and wearied with the gainefull fruite which ariseth therof, will (for that ther are no occasions of Ielosy offered) themselues nourish causers by most vnciuill companions. Talke of Ielosy in their company, they wil vtterly condempne such fickell headed Bussardes, that vppon enery light occasion are mistrustful of their wives, swearing and protesting that they are not, nor would bee of such a suspicious society for the

world: when their privy checkes for their wives modest familiarity shall be so openly executed, as their actions show their tounges have lyed.

But these of the fixt kinde are knaues in graine, that having lauisht their stockes leaudly by badd meanes, and seeing their estates to grow weake, will feeke out wiues, not of the common forte for propernesse, but suche matchlesse paragons as are for neatnesse not to be mated in a countrey. These must bee sett in their shoppes to tole in customers; vnto whome, if they show not themselues good-fellowes by gentle speeches, their houses will proue to hoat for them. must not sticke to promise fairely and to kisse, so they do it closely; onely this prouifo must be had, that they keepe them out of their mony boxes and clofecubberds. Which practife proouinge profitable. and thereby their estates being amended, straight false measure is fuspected, and thervpon, this their owne invention misliked Then they will fay that they do more then their commission alloweth, though leffe a great deale then in the beginning was commaunded. Yea, thence after they must sit no more in the shoppes for feare of thunderclappes; and if perchaunce once in a moneth they are there, in which time it may happen some of their olde customers to come to renue their acquaintance, priuy frownes shalbe genen them 1 of the wittals their husbandes, their chapmen beeing in company; and in their absence, bitter woordes, if not bitinge blowes. Then shall they not bee suffered to looke on a man without controlement, nor dare to speake to any for feare of buffets. If any aske for them, buying there, prefently they are thoughte to be their wines customers, and therefore shall have bad entertainement, and be served with the woorst stuffe, if any be worse then other.

[1 sig. C 2, back. Catch word by]

The last were cried out vppon, for that, whereas they are married with honest mens children, beeing beloued of them far better then they deserve, they will showe them so much kindnesse in their wooing time, and on their marriage day, as they leave never a whit for the time following. For, having reaped the first dayes rost, and beeing inriched with the prosit thereof, they growe carelesse of that which might insue, thinking there is no heaven but the time present, nor any commodity like to arise of the remnant. Before company, their kindnesse shall bee so freely vsed, as when their wives and they

are alone, noughte but bitter wordes and worse shall followe. Abroad, their behauior towardes them shall bee passing louing, mingled with kinde mirth; but at home they will so lumpe and lowre, as it were better to be in hel, then to liue in house with such hipocriticall Ielious husbandes. At feastes and at assemblies they will vie themselues like saintes, affirming they are matched with pearlesse wenches for good and honeste behauior; but in their chambers they are diuels, suspecting salshood and close dealings between their dearest frends and faithfull wives. And to make an end of the messe, I will tell you of an euidence given there against a most notable asse.

There was one that, to shonne his predestinated fortune, and to preuent his hard hap fore-told him by fome diuell incarnate, did fearch to fee if hee mighte finde fuche an ill-fauoured peece of stuffe as all men els would mislike of, not esteeming how deformed shee were, fo fhee brought money with her. And at last, Nature had shapen a morcell for his tooth, such a matche as it was impossible to mate her, vnleffe her forenamed mother had bene 1 hired therevnto, [1 sig. C 3] Shee was beetell-browed, goggell-eyed, blobber-lipt, wry-necked, crooke-backt, and fplay-footed: havinge the huckle bone of her breech burst, whereby shee wente wriggling with her taile like a broken legged dogge; with fo fweete a breath, as a man had beene as good to have gone fastinge into the common gardens about London, as into her chamber when the was in it. With this vnmatchable creature did this stripling marrie, supposing it vnpossible that she that 2 [2 orig. tha] had neuer a good part in her body, shoulde haue so bad a tricke as to lende his mustard pot to others vses. Wherevppon, ioying that hee alone liued with an honest woman (as hee thought), hee would laugh at his neighbours folly for choosing wives to serue other mens turnes, beeing, by feeding of their owne fancies, cuckold by fuch as himselfe was, who had notwithstandinge at home for his owne diet fuch an one as would not bee of others regarded, nor himfelfe coulde fnuffe it off. But his tender crippell, knowing that there were Vulcans that woulde fometimes looke into straunge Smithes shoppes, and perfuading her felfe that Pecunia omnia potest, did hire a plowman shee had, to supplye some wants in her sweete hartes absence. Who, agreed on the matter, did fo closely perfourme their knauery, as to their thinkinge the Diuell himselfe perceived not their villany.

Well, soone after there came certaine chapmen to this clothiers house, (for he was of that trade) to make merry with him al the Christ masse holly dayes, in which time they vsed this kinde crippell for his fake fo familiarly, as they would ieft with her before his face. Who, watchinge for a dishe from off Ielosies table, seared his owne shadow would beguile himfelfe, and therefore would neuer leaue, vntill by a shift he had got them forth of his doores. So played hee with enery one that came after vnto his house, warning his wife from vsing such companions familiarly: neuer misdoubtinge Lobb, his man, that did daunce trenchemore once enery day in his printy kitchin. But the destinies that had fworne his horned dubbing, to let him see the fruite of his choice, and the certainety of his fortune, (for to be a cuckold, and know it not, is no more (fayes fome) then to drincke with a flye in his 1 cuppe, and fee it not,) brought him on a time into his barne; when thinking to finde his man a threshing, he found him a kiffing of his crippell, with fo plaine further euidence of his hard fortune, as he killed both man and wife; and himselfe was hanged for it afterwardes.

Of these fortes were the billes of enditementes, beeing practises so well liked and allowed off by this confocation, as the persourners of them were rewarded with the best entertainement Hell associates. And laying plats to effect further mischief, they concluded that, by cutting one an others throat, their kingdome might soonest be enlarged. To which end they invented these meanes, which I will rehearse vnto thee.

First, that knauish Ielosy should be requited with clubbing iniury: namely, that they that shall abuse their loues with lauish speeches, shall be Inbberly beaten by champions, which shall be prouided for that purpose: so that, through knauish mistrustfulnesse and murthering reuenge, they may all purchase Hell. Then that those sooles, which sing lodged in the bed of constant amity, taking their rest in Pleasures armes: and rocked a sleepe louingly, like infantes in the cradle of Disporte, by their nurses Carefullnesse & Security) tosse their loues constancy so lightly with stroakes of biting and injurious wordes, and baule so vinquietly, showing most ielious trickes of childishe mistrussfullnesse, as they force thereby their nurses to bee carelesse of their vindiscreete quietnesse, and to turne their blisse into bane, That

[r sig C 3, back]

these (I saye) for requitall of suche soolishnesse, shoulde bee cast off, neuer agains to taste of the sweetenesse of their looues wonted curtesy, by which means they may become desperate and hang themselves.

And touching doating or dolting Ielofy, that their wines, to pay them for their fuspition, shoulde not wander much abroade, nor give entertainement to any gallants at home, but to growe familiar with their feruauntes, and ioyne fuch a helper to their husbandes imperfection as Iacke the fcullian is, which shall neuer bee mistrusted. And the better to effecte their knauery, it was agreed that they should bee councelled that euer after Iellious complaintes made by [leaf C 4] their husbandes to their frendes, they shoulde sitte withe them at dinner and fupper for company, to preuente misdoubte, but shoulde not eate a bit, nor drinke a droppe, without their kindnes, for their husbandes vnkindnes did yeeld sufficient teares to quench their thirst with. Marry, in a corner with iacke their partners, to fare as well as money and mirth could make them, Whereby it was thought that they would recant of their Ielofy, and give them liberty to vse it at their pleafure, fo far as themselues might be assured how much they were vnhappy. And that fornicators (after they had obtained their defires according to the course of lawe) should, stroking vppe their crooked fhankes, and belabouring their rufty beardes with their wetherbeaten fingers, feeking other wenches, meet with whipper ginnies that should knowe how to vse such old leachers so handfomely, (beeing contented to indure discontentment, with the thought of the coine that lines their olde bagges,) as they shall be reputed by them for as honest women as line, vntill the wedding day bee past, when in the euening (fore-thinkinge of the small pleasure is like to enfue by their pastime) they shal faine themselues so sicke, as of sorce they will lye alone, or at least without those old wretches. So shall they ferue them by the space of a moneth, by which time (and it is no marueil) the churles will beginne to misdoubt somewhat. But what shall they care, seeinge they are mistrisses of all they have, and can keepe the chuffes from their owne? When they tell them of their vnkindnesse, these wil be ready to spit in their faces, bidding them to goe trott vnto their trulles. As for them felues, they cannot abide fuch olde fooles: their breath flinckes, they flauer with their

kiffinge, with fuche other opprobrious fcoffes, as by their harde fpeeches and woorse vsage, they shall make the olde sooles to betake themselues to their beades, confessing with shame their shamelesse behaviour towardes their late faithfull wives, and, cursing the cause of this haplesse fortune, cry *Peccaui*, and die quite discontented.

[* leaf C 4, back]

It was further agreed vppon, that backebiters, that will not cease to blaze ielious vntrothes, shall bee plagued with havinge 1 their tounges pulled foorth, or else woorse punished by loosinge the regardes of supposed honesty. And all the commodity suche malicious Impes shall reape for their knauery, is, a faire purchased place called Bridewell; and for their false reportes they shall bee sure of a proper cage to singe in; where their good names dyinge with their honestye, they shall bee carried from thence in cartes of reproach, and be buried in continual infamy, ronge to hell with lashes of whip-corde. And the liers: they, because they would not be iellious, but cannot leave it, shal weare hornes, whether they will or no.

But the grand wittalls, that will alure customers by the fine wenches, and with hauing inriched themselues thereby, will turne their knauery into villanie. They by their crabbednesse shall come to extreame pouerty, and then endeauoring to put in triall their olde custome, their wives shall either growe stuborne and reape no prosit, or else too too liberall, spending the remnant which is left, leaving their husbandes as monylesse as witlesse. As for the last fort, not least, whose mistrussullnesse cut their owne throates, causing their wives to fall vnto lewdnesse by over rulinge them with hippocr[i]ticall iurissicion. Onely this shall be added vnto the forwardnesse of their distruction, that their halting disse lightly plante newe trickes of huswiverie in their wives consciences.

[2 *orig*. librrall]

[3 orig. lewdensse]

Thus, Tell troth (quoth Robin), thou hast hard some thinge that thou neuer hardst of before, which, when it shall come vnto the diuells eares, I knowe hee will bee monstrous collericke; but it mattereth not: it is better he should fret, then humanity sade. For vnlesse these his inventions should be knowne, how should they be preuented?

I tell thee (frend), howfoeuer fome thinke of me, Robin, as he is a good fellowe by name, fo is hee no leffe in minde; and I fweare vnto thee I had rather fee the diuells dance the morice alone in that fiery hellhouse, then a christian to foote it there, through want of knowledge of their 1 inventions. O, tell troth, is it not great pittie to fee fo [1 sig. D] manye thousandes, through folly to inthrall themselues to tormentes euerlafting? thou wouldest thinke it vnpossible that the hundred part of them which are there onely for Ielofy, should bee bred in a world. Why, man, I have onely tould thee of the Ielofy betweene man and wife, and the louer and his fweet hart; I have not touched the Ielofy betweene frend and frend, the father and his fonne, the mother and her daughter, yea, and betweene whome not, that are ioyned together, either by confanguinity, neighbourhood, by office, or duety. I let these passe, because I meane not to meddle with them; onely, because thou wantest some way to thy iornyes end, I will tell thee a pretty ieft, which though it bee misplaced for want of memory, yet here it may come in very good tim[e]. And it is of an olde dotor that was very well ferued.

This dotor, who, though he were a man of fowerfcore yeares of age (knowing himselfe vnable to satisfy the expectation of a widow of his owne flanding), yet would he needes marry with a girle of foureteene; Who, being conftrained thereunto by her freendes compulfion, not knowinge what belonged to the rites of matrimony, was contented to loue him entierly, and to liue truely vnto him without thought of dishonesty. Yet so ill conceited was this foolish dotor, and fo weary of his happy estate, as although he knew assuredly the cubbard was close shutt and without any crannes, yet could he neuerthelesse suspect the filly mouse, and would set trappes, hopinge to catche her, counfelled therevnto by his misdeeming thoughtes. If thee had beene neuer fo little out of his fight, he thought it was the fpring time, being but Christmas; to stay the forwardnes whereof, his frost-biting wordes should nippe her. The younge cubbe at last (learning fubtilty by the olde Fox), suspectinge there was some further fweete in a marryed womans life, then as yet shee had tasted off, onely perfuaded thereunto by her husbandes Ielosye, tooke harte at graffe, and woulde needes trie a newe conclusion. The nexte day beeing foorth at dinner with him, where were likewise many women

 $[r ext{ sig. D,}]$ of all degrees, fhee amongft the rest chose \$^1\$ forth an old matron to back. Catch word footh] passe away the time with, which in communication, finding her to be of fuch a courteous disposition, as vnto her shee made complaint of the feruile bondage her frends had brought her too. Which shee pittying (for what hart fo hard as would not pitty her, that wanted alltogether contentmente?), gaue her fuch good councell as shee her felfe had tried, havinge beene pestered with the like inconvenience, though not with fo many hart-breakinges: whereof this younge woman liked so well, on the morrow she meant to put some of her conclusions in practife. And a brother of hers comming home vnto her the next day, she likewise showed vnto him howe the Ielosy of her husband increased, desiring him to help her to effect a practise fhe determined to try; to which he foone agreeing, they ftole both into one of her chambers, there spending the day in secret communication, How it might bee best performed; which beeing earnest, paffed away the time fo foddenly as night was come vpon them ere they thought on it, so that thereby he, forced to departe, was let foorth at the dore by her felfe, whome a maied shee had (which the olde dotor made more of then of her felfe) did espy, not knowing who But shee had newes inough that it was a manne, and so good to her liking, as in all haft her maister must be made acquainted there with; he, vpon the hearing thereof, growing fo hot, as he did not onely beate his wife, but in a great rage turned her forth of the dores, reuiling her most shamefully. The filly woman had no other fuccour but to goe to her brothers that was married, in the fame towne (for the durft not complaine to her father on a foddaine, he was fo cruell), who received her kindly, and lodge[d] her for that night, because it was so late. And in the morning betimes hee went with her to her fathers, making him acquainted with the whole matter. Who, after the true fearch of the certainty thereof, condemned his owne folly for the match, fending for the olde mifer, that was met at the dore posting thetherwards to complaine. But at his comming his expectation was quite frustrated, for wher, according to a former course had in the like practise, he looked to have his wife rebuked & himselfe moned, 1 hee was nowe, not onely sharpely threatened for his misusage towardes her, but also deservedly scoffed at, and driven force perforce (because hee was matched with his superiours), to bee there-

[¹ sig. D 2. Catch word he]

with contented. And vppon the triall of the truth he found himfelfe fo plainely convicted, as hee confessed his faulte, and asked her forgiuenes, fewing for a reconfciliation to bee made between them. Which done, they departed home, & his wife, not forgetting the shame shee had indured by his meanes, fluddied to requite his villange, and effected it after this manner. Her husband kept a proper man whome he did put in so great trust, as he hiered him for a stale to deceive himselfe by wishing him to trie his wives constancy, Who dallied so long with the flame, as at last he was burnte with the fire of desire, his affection fo iumply meeting with her conceipt, as within a shorte time, what by faire promifes, larg[e] giftes, and her beauty (three notable baites to catch a kind foole with), she had so won him to her will, as he would not onely reueale vnto her what fo euer his wife maifter would fay, but also would euer by false oathes sobbe him vppe with a thousand vntruthes concerning her approued honesty. Well, his good reportes encreased but further mislike in his maister, with a more earnest desire to finde her false; and there vppon he would teach his man how he should further trie her, setting downe fuch plaine plots as by the 1 practife of them hee was fhortly after [rorig. thy] ready at any time to doe his mistresse any good turne in his maisters absence. He had subtill wit inough, and therefore they both sped the better, he prouing so good a plaister to her fore, as if she and her husband fel out in the night, she with her man would sport in the day time; and because the olde foole was so couetous as he would drinke onely fmall beere to faue charges, they two would courrose whole gallons of wine at their going abroad, which was often without fuspition to the olde fooles hornes. Allwayes at dinner and fupper he should have her with him to shaddowe mistrust, but shee would not eate a bit with him, because his fare was so base, collouring her nicenes with want of stomacke, and with forrow for his churlishnes towardes her. With which ² dissembling (for what cannot [² sig. D 2, back] women doe by teares?) her husband, what betweene his mans flattery and his wines hipocricy, was quite chaunged, being verely perfwaded now that she is a faint, repenting he euer mistrusted her, & recanting of his folly in falfly accusing her. For a mends whereof, hee confeffed the fecond time to her parents and frendes that he had most undeferuedly ouerawed his faithful wife, greened with nothing more

then his hard viage towardes her, in reftraining her, beeing young, of honest liberty. In requitall whereof, it was lawfull for her with his young stripling to goe forth and returne at her pleasure, to be in what company she best liked of, and nothing suspected, for at this time he would not let to sweare he had the onely honest woman in the worlde. And if anye of his frends had reproued him of such folly, aleadging that youth was soone inticed to lewdnesse, his aunswere was, hee cared not, and his thankes were sharpe wordes. But if his neighbours tould him shee kept bad companye, associating other women that were good fellowes, hee, forth with, would raile vpon the reporters for slaundering his wines honesty, and would straight haue the lawe of them for calling her good name in question. And thus lived this dotor as long as the distincts woulde permit him, at his death leaving onely his hornes for his successors portion.

How like you this, Tell-troth? you smild at this mans folly, but you had more neede to pittie the weaknes of fuch as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childishly. But nowe, because thou art in a manner at thy iourneys ende, I must leave thee, yet, before I goe, knowe this farther newes. That at my comming from hell, the affemblie aforefaid had thought to have broke vppe, and gon euery gouerner to his prouince to take their pleasures, beeing ouertoyled with their tedious confultations. But as they were a rifing, there came one in fweating, with a fupplication from Pierce-Pennileffe, inforfing them thereby to a newe labour. Which I perceiuing, and immagining it woulde bee long before it were ended, beeing [1 leaf D 3] allready weary of their company, lefte that I newes for the knight of the poste, and so you are wellcome to your journeyes ende. good fellow, looking for no other thankes for his company, but that (frend Tell troth) thou dost me the fauour to publish this my inuectiue against Ielosy.

[2 orig.

Wherevpon he deliuerd 2 vuto me a scroule of paper with the contents hereaster followinge, and so hee vanished awaye, I know not howe.

[Large Coat of Arms in the original.]

Robin Good-fellowe his Invective

[leaf D 3,

against Ielosy.



He Poetes altogether aymed not amisse in their fiction, whereas, fetting downe the torments of hell, they affirme ther is no torture that inflictes the furies with more extreame cruelty then the fond conceites of a ielious

harte; and why? for that the reuenge of a disdainefull woman is deadly, and her rewardes for miftruftfullnesse, guiftes of vnceasinge griefe, which in the ende woorke vtter destruction. The cause nourished in men maketh the effect possible and the practise intollerable.

There is no fweete fo stronge, but the delighte thereof may bee [a]spice, vt croffed by the contrarye; nor anye hart fo firme, but continuall mis[er]andæ vnkindnes maye remooue it. The tall oake, that waueth not with lus [a]ssiduo euerye puffe of the winde, is easelye throwne to the ground by an adjusted through the ground by an easelye throwne to the ground by an easelye throwne to the ground by an easely through the ground by the ground by the gro extraordinary tempest. The hardest flint is pierst with often droppes; and it is not impossible, thoughe vnlikelye, that the skie should fall. Are they not woorthy to be nipte with the piercing stormes of a biting winter, that, having a shelter to defend themselves from such outragious wether, and knowing a tempest will come which may ouerthrow it, neglecteth neuerthelesse to preuent that daunger by vnderpropping the fame? or deferue they to have their effate pittied that wilfully feeke their owne vndooing? As it is a part of wifedom to foresee a daunger, so, not to withstand and to endeuour to frustrate the same with reason and forecast, is a badge of extremest folly.

And Peccaui deferuedlye falles on their backes, that wittinglye Principiis and willinglye incurre the haffard thereof. If men had no vnder- medicina ftanding of the plagues of hell they would be too too vitious, and their Cum mala pleasure could not but bee their destruction, vnlesse euery one convalauere had a hale-backe for his companion. If Ielofy be a torment more

re leaf D 4] mercilesse then diuelish Pluto, and his common least here greeuous then the forrowes of hell, I forrow to thincke that men should be so witlesse as to honour the Diuell, and so carelesse as to delight in such a weale-publike. But be it as it is, or let it be woorse, as it is vn-possible it shoulde, their conceites are grown to be so base, and their enterprises so beast-like, as for the most part they follow Iclosy so eagerly, as they constraine their deerest freendes to cut their throates with the knife they most seare, when both the euell it selfe and the cause theros might be remooued, so euery one would ground their loue vpon discretion.

Arte citæ veloque rate[s] remoque r[e]guntur: a [se] leves curu[s] arte regend[us]

If the practifes and proceedings of loue be fo forcible as they bring death with them to the hopelesse harte, hee is vnwise that will striue to encrease those affections which are allready more then extraordinary. Waxe, by a temperate heat is mollified and formed, being foste to any shape, but through a furious slame it either wasteth and confumeth, or els will not be touched without defiling of our fingers. The hartes of women are like vnto waxe, that, tempered by the passions of loue, are ready to take the impression thereof; but if it coole againe before the printe of kindnesse be surely set on, or if the flame of fury breake foorth about it, being fett on fire by the coales of mifgouernemente, to what bad ende will the good beginning be turned? and how many hartbreakinges by quarrels and difagreementes will arise in the smoother of such smoothy misrule! Doubtlesse the experience thereof hath taughte too too many to their griese, and will teach more to their vndooing, vnleffe the fwelling of that fore be affwaged with fom wholfome medicin. But they that only have entertained the superficies of love, never harboring him in their hartes, affirme that he and Ielosy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other. If they that holde the same for a maxime, meane in the defence of their freendes honours, and to be Ielious of their wives good name and reputation, I graunt that that is most kinde affection.

But when Ielofy arifeth of a foolish fondnes, grounded with out reason, to bee removed with cuerye lighte occasion; or of mistrust-fullnesse of the partye loued, without triall of anye vn²constancy; or, lastly, of childish assection, lead away with an vnruely appetite, and nourished with dispayringe conceites, conceiuing what is not, and

[2 leaf D 4, back] iudginge onely by shadowes which remoue all hope, causing continuall discontentment,—that maketh the ielious mans case desperate, and the thinge foolish.

There is no concorde betweene water and fire, nor any medium betweene loue and hatred; for either the hart fighes vnder the burthen of entiere affection, or groanes throughe the waight of Loue couereth a multitude of finneful greeuous dissimulation. offences, and loyalty recouereth a world of ouerflipt infirmities; but diflike findeth rottennesse in found timber, spots in the pure white, and vnkindnesse in the constant harte; it engendereth Ielosy, and procureth enmities; it hatcheth breakepeace, and glories in quarrels; all it delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all it ioy to encrease If it hath it beginning of loues contrary, yea, in nature, how can there bee anye brotherly equality betweene them? vnlesse, vnhappilye, wee will make the eye father to both, that feeinge aswell good as euell, entifeth the hart, through corrupt affections, to be misled by wicked elusions, bringing foorth bastardes in steede of true begotten children: For if Ielofy be loues brother, it is by corruption of nature brought foorth vnlawfully, which may thus be manifested. After the eye hath chosen an object which brings fo sweet contentment to the hart, as it highly delighteth in the same, that prouing so kinde loue and fuch feruent affection in both, as lawfull requitall makes a pleafing fatisfaction, the eye receivinge kinde glaunces for amorous glotinges, and louinge harte-breakinges for affectionate hart fighings. The eie beeing pleafed with an eye, and the hart contented with a hart, they frolique both in glory as long as they rest in constancie; but wandring from forth that sanctuary, the eie either spies another eie that better pleaseth it, and the harte likes of another harte that better contentes it, or else the eie lookes curishly into his owne hart, and spies some fault in himselfe, which, displeasing, begetteth Ielosy: whereby the eie may be faid to be originall and father of both.

¹ How is it possible that falshood should be in frendship? or can [r sig. E] the hand beguile the hart that ruleth it? no more will a louing wife playe false with him to whome shee is joyned both by the lawe of god and man, or a frend crosse her louing exceedinges, in whome his hart delighteth. That which is bred in the bone will neuer out of

Qu[o tibi] it.
ormosa[m]
sı] non nisi
ca]sta
lace[bat].
Von pos[unt] vilis
sta [coi]re
nodis.

Indign[ere] licet,
uua[t]
nconcess[a]
voluptas.
Sola
plac[et].
timeo,
di[ce]re si
qua p[o]test

the fleshe; and what Nature hath made, Arte cannot marre. Enuie hath a tricke with her heele, all the diuells in hell cannot alter And I maruell menne are fo foolishe as to matche themselues with fuche women whome they have cause to suspect. either their own life hath beene lasciuious, by which they iudge others, or their meaning bad in chusing such companions; when nowe, ouerlate repentinge of their bargaine, they light on a worser mischiefe. Allthough the fox be fo crafty as he deceives many, yet fometimes he meeteth with a champion more fubtill then himselfe. The pitcher goeth long to the water, but at laste getteth a knocke through the bearers fault, and is brought home broken. The Ielious man feareth his owne shadow, and looketh narrowly vnto it, yet (likely) at last commeth a fubstaunce, who (when he thinketh least on it) entereth, doinge him iustice, though hee neuer the wifer. It is straunge that menne are fo foolish as to feeke their owne vndoing, for affuredly looke, by what measure they fell by, the same shall they receive their owne, without aduauntage. The quarreling mate shall not complaine for want of knockes, or the ielious man longe defire hell, when the one shall finde like swashbucklers vnto himselfe, and the others wife will not flicke to cut his throat with the knife hee hath fo long feared.

If mens love be fimplie good, women cannot but affectionate them with like fimplicity; but if they playe false (Ielosye beeing their cloake), they will be fure to keepe knaues to croffe their cardes with. In these dayes every cobler doth seare the carter, and setes uppe his whippe at his dore to keepe Iohn Cobbilero from his lattice. And I pray you uppon what reasons shall these iclious trickes be discarded? Somme haue it by nature, and fay, 'kit must after kind, bee it but in scraping of a 1 frying panne.' Beware of naturall foolles as long as you liue; for a bad tricke ingrafted in them, neuer leaueth them vntill he hath brought feauenty worse into his roome. And, as for the inuention of their prediceffors, they must needes goe to the diuell with them for companie. Others builde their knauery on other mens miffortune, that are matched with Ioone, communis omnibus, that could play at bucklers fo foone as fhe was past her cradell. shee is a tall peece of slesh, and will stand to her tackling so stoutly, as the diuell himselfe shall not get the waisters from her. I counsell

[1 sig. E, back]

him that thinketh hee hath met with her companion, to cease to greeue at it, and striue not to remoue that he cannot stirre, least happily shee falls quit from him, & neuer serueth him after. Manye honour him of custome, because they hold their landes of him by homage, their prediceffors allwayes having beene his fworne fubiectes. A pittifull custome, that tendeth to the tenauntes vndoing, and a title that might very well bee refigned ouer and denied; feeing it only toucheth free taile, or feruices vnreasonable to be perfourmed. And a great part obtaine his entertainment by vse and practise: those are greene headed that long for reformations, & would have new lawes inftituted euery quarter, defiring to try new conclusions, whether it were possible for a man to liue vnto himselfe. Which are fo delighted with common cases, as they make honesty a necessity, thrusting him out of the dores at their pleasure, by vsing them most fhamefully whome they ought to loue entirly. But most playe ielious parts of knauery and bad entention, meaning to make a practife of paltry peuishnesse and knauish conceiptes. They will be ielious to try their wives or frendes constancy, being neuer ashamed of their owne villany.

What shall I faye? I greeue to thinke on mens hard happe, and Quidquid womens vnkindnesse; the one nourishing mischiefe, and the other cuspilmus perfewing, with deadly execution, the tormentes they suspecte and insignist insignistic perfewing perfewing in the comment of greeue at. I have hard (even of kinde gentlewomen reported, whoe vocat:
pauci [q] uod
have beene over vexed with the fuspitious conceiptes of ielious sin[1]. husbandes) that their flaunderous thoughtes 1 concerning the fuspected amant. crimes, did not fo much aggrauate their owne griefe (though it were intollerable), as the fight therof did encrease their wives ioy and delight, onely pleafed with this fweet melody: That they knewe themselues to bee most constant and faithfull, though suspected of the contrarye, and their husbandes, defiring no more then conftancy, cannot content themselues with their defired felicity, but greeue their own foules with triphells, and eate vppe their owne harts through fuspition of difloyalty. I would but demaund what recompence a ielious man receiueth by all his trauell, or what little ioy he reapes by his miftruftfullnesse and continuall pensiuenesse? The lowest ebbe is counteruailed with as high a floode, and boyftrous ftormes with calme wether; the glomest daye maye darken the sunne, but not

z orig.

abate his pride; and as there are extreame droughtes, fo fometimes falls the contrary by extraordinary tempests. There is no sowre but may bee qualified with fweet potions, nor any doubtfull malady that may not be allied with delightfull muficke1; onely ielious thoughts with loue are vncurable, and that a corafiue most dangerous to mens It is vaine to ftriue against the streame, and as foolish to build castels in the aire. He that thinketh to catch the aire in a bottle, deserueth to be last at; & he that would ty vp his wives or frends honesty in a string, to bee pitied: both follies sit for inno[c]ents & practizes without end. I thinke Vulcans Ielofy preuailed him nothing, & his catching of Marce & Venus in a purcenet as little, except a confirmation of his great grief, & an affured knowledg of his horned head, prouing a continuall badge of his infamy. The like followed many others fuspition, and the like will ensewe of such folly. Vulcan knewe that Mars was a copartner with him in Venus And he himselfe could not but blush when hee had wooed his owne spouse (the goddesse of loue), in steede of Briceris, his beloued paramore. I knowe that euery one hath his faulte, and all deferue equal punishmente; onely Robin good fellow withes, that mens & womens prefumtions may be certaine, and that their fuspecte may bee built on a fure ground.

[2 sig. **E 2,** back]

² If men would imitate the same rule, to avoide Ielosy, which Cicero hath set downe in his Offices, as most requisite to maintaine a happy weale publike (alleaginge, it was the parte of mad men, to wishe for a gloomy day when the sonne shined most gloriously; or to desire warre and turmoyling troubles, when the common-wealth shourisheth most happily through peace and tranquillity; But, to alay hurly burlies with councel, and to make warres cease by advice, was greate wisedome,)—They would not encrease their owne greese and forrow: or rather, beeing at quiet, and obtaining the height of pleasure by mutuall love and affection, they woulde not (I say) long after vnrest, or pursue troubles, and continuall disquietnes, with might and maine, without measure; seeing the obtaining of their owne desire is a proofe of their missortune, and the independent after the verdict of such a title, continual shame and infamy. The man is happy that is accounted happy, and none are richer then those that be so

[3 orig. heigth] reus est, niumque fauet ille ori, cui itur victa ma crua, rea.

adjudged of. If, then, fame be fo fauourable as to reckon a beggar equall with a kinge, is not hee a foole which will himselfe reprooue her of an vntrueth? The prouerbe adjudges that 'an il bird which will defile his owne neft; ' and is not he a bad cuckold, that will register himself one when the clarke hath left him out of fauour? By how much it is better to be one, beeing accounted none, then to be none, and reputed one,-by fo much the more are they beholdinge to themselues for the horne that blowes their Ielosy vntill it flames. An extraordinary fmoake breedes fuspect of a hurtefull fire, and many sparkes make men to wonder; yet the harme of both of them is preuented by care and diligence.

I would but know the manne (femper excipio, the wittall) that would not be loath to be pointed at with a paire of hornes, & yet I know very many, and haue hard of an innumerable company, that haue made the whole parrishe, yea, the country, priuy to their misfortune by defarte of them. Well, then, hereafter if there be any that hath a tooting head, and would not have it sene, let him keepe it fecretely to himselfe, and make the best of it. He goes farre that neuer turnes, and shee is a diuell that will neuer 1 mende; and since the [2 leaf E 3] diuell is good to fome body, let the ielious man make much of her, that the shee diuell may bee good to him.

Sorrow craues pitty, and fubmission deserves pardon. Hee is ouer Flectitur hard harted that will not be entreated, and diuelish that cannot gante de forgiue. If, then, vpon penitent submission, a man shalbe forced to receive her into favour that hath offended, will it not be fo much to his better contentmente, by how much a few are acquainted with the mischiese? That grief is best disgested that bringes not open shame, but a spightefull blow prooues a noted scarre. But suppose the worst that can happe, imagine shee will neuer be good, building vpon the old sayinge: Shee that knowes where Christes crosse standes, will neuer of semsels est forget where great A dwels,—yet a man were better to bee troubled imbuta with a queane alone, then to bee forced to keepe both a queane and seruabit a knaue: for as the law grantes a deuorcement, so is it requisite it Testa diu. shoulde allow the woman mainetenance; and what shall her knaue lacke that she hath? Whosoeuer, therefore, that is bound to a bad bargaine, whereof comes two mischiefes, either to keepe a queane or

malis, min[1]mum est el[i]gendum.

E duobfus] to parte with money, if he will follow Robin good fellowes councel. let him rather choose to diet her in his owne house, then to pay for the boord of her and her louer in a strange place.

But because it is the best labour to woorke the confusion of such

an ennimy as Ielofy is, whose company encreaseth multitudes of inconveniences, My meaninge is to fet downe fome necessary helpes how fuch a mischiese may bee best preuented. And first, I councel every one that is enfected with fuch a plage to feeke to forestall the daunger thereof, by kinde and gentle plaisters. I meane, that shee who hath a ielious husband, subject to the like infirmities before mencioned, shoulde reclaime him by gentle vsage, and ouercome his vaine fuspition with modest behauiour, not vsinge any vnciuill tricke in disdainefull manner before his face, he hating the same; or vsing other fuspitious practifes, onely to croffe him with them; and so to carry themselues in all places, and at all times, as they may neither giue cause of offence vnto them or of mistrust vnto others. The like meane ought to be executed by men, that they ouerlay not their [feare] full wives, brauing them with diffainefull likelyhoodes of difhonest behaulour, but that they diffuade them from suspition by the contraries, remoouing their ielious conceites by kindnesse and louely dalliance. It is easy to cure a greene wound, but the daunger of a festred fore is mortall. The young tree will stoup, when the old fhrewd cannot bend; and new conceites are easly removed, but engrauen thoughtes will not be rubbed forth; and loue is of fo great force, as he fooner ouercomes with a faire word, then his enimye shall conquere by all his forces. Howe happie is that common wealth where peace raigneth, and that family which concord gouerneth, the one nourishing true amity amongst her subjectes, the other establish-

Obsequium tigresq[ue] domat, tımıdo[s]que leones.

[x leaf E 3, back Catchword fearefull] [Fle]ctitur ob[seq]uio cur[ua]tus ab ar[bo]re ramus: [fra]nges, si [vir]es experi[ar]e tuas.

> What greater griefe then life with discontent, When discontent of want of love ariseth? Loue hath no lacke, but allwayes lines content, And any thing to please his mind sufficeth; Rich is true love, abounding fill with flore, The lacke whereof makes want a grieuous fore.

ing vanity betweene man and wife.

The sweete of love doth yeeld so sweete a tast, As mixt with gall, he turnes the fower to sweete: By him is strength and blessed weale imbrast; By him is harts-ease gaind, and ioy most greet. Strong is true love, whose strength is kindly set: To heape with sweete, that sower his ion ne let.

The sport of love is full of ionfull smiles, He cures all fores with one most kindest salue; A pleasing kisse his frowning rage beguiles, And one faire word his anger doth diffolue; Pleafant is love, he ioyes in weale and woe; His rage with smiles, his wroth with kiffes goe.

1 Thus liueth loue, and no otherwife fare they that be his followers; [leaf E 4] they are neuer hart ficke, because they neuer suspecte; nor euer displeafed, because for that by themselues they are not grieued. Who is more tormented then he that teares his owne flesh? or who deferues more griefe, then they that will not vse the remedy? To lock vp ones wife, for fear of sparrow-blafting, dub himself a cuckould within an iron cage, and to feeke to 2 rule her by correction, when [2 orig. he cannot gouerne himself with discretion, is to gather a rod to beate to his owne breeche. For whiles she is lockte in her studie, her mind [tem] hath the more liberty to inuent a fit reuenge against her going tes, licet abroad. What is it they cannot effecte, if they have a will therevnto? claudas And what woman is there that liues without a meanes to repaye a e[x]clusis, good turne, or to requite a bad? Vse them, therefore, well, is the adulter ering in spis inwifeft way to liue quietly; to loue them entirely, the onely meanes to dulge dom[i]n[æ]: bee long happy.

If the meanes to deceive thee, her invention is hard to be pre-exue. uented, for, watch her neuer fo narrowly, she will finde a time to fron[-]te occulos, performe her knauery. The filiest creatures are fildome catcht in centum cert-1 uice gereordinary trappes: and can women want wit to frustrate a common bat Argus, & hos vnu[s] stale? If it wer possible to know their thoughts, it were likely their sape fefellift practifes might be hindered; but as long as fecreta mihi raignes, the amor. rains of their liberty are at their own pleasures. And I thinke men are best at ease when they are so pleased,—at least, wise men are, or

omnibus int[us] vultus[que] seueros Centum

should be, seeing their contentment hanges in their wills. For what house is in quiet where the goodwise is out of patience? If the maister

Ouod licet ingratum est : quod non licet acrius viit.

I leaf E 4, back] [Flec]timur in [v]it[i]um sem[per] cupunus-[cu]1 pec-care [lic]et, peccat [mi]nus[.] insa. [po]testas se[m]ına nequi[ti]æ langui[di]ora facit.

bee angry, the fault onely lies on the mistriffe her necke; but be she moued, about goes the maides, away runne the menne, and I make a doubt whether her hufband dares to out fland her. I am affured fhee will out chide him. Flatery is a fweet baite, and kindnesse a wholefome potion; & nothing more then vnlawfullnes, enticeth vs vnto lewdnesse. The delighte of fweete is taken away by furfiting of fuggar; but who by nature is not defirous of nouelties? would not so many purcase Tiborne, vnlesse there were a Bull to hange them; nor fo many yeeld vppe 1 the possession of their garmentes to the hangmen, were ther not a lawe to condemne them. And I warrant you, there would be fewer horned heads, if iclious hartes [qu]e negata were feanter, wherby the practife of watching might decay. knowes liberty better then they that haue beene in bondage? And whoe, for the most parte, vieth it worse then they that knowe it best? A mind ouerladed with ioy, committeth manye errours in his iolity; & a harte pressed downe with forrowe, thinkes of manye mischiefes. Extreames are neuer good: and howe can one fooner fall into them, then being made acquainted with one of them? Hauing beene in the dungion of difcontent, and being fet free to range at our pleafure, we thinke we are neuer at the territ of delight, before, with Ouids builders, wee touch the heavens, fo imperfect is our nature.

O vtinam [a]iguerem [si]c, vt non [v]incere pos[s]em: Me mi[s]erum quare [t]am bona causa mea est?

Per venerem iuro, pueriq[ue] volatilis aradmissi criminis esse

reum.

Perfwasions are of great force to moue women, whose harts. though most tender, withstand nothing more then crabbed vsage. Vowe lone vnto them, and they will fweare conflancy vnto you; and if perchance they make fome overflip by their deferving Jelofy, yet grow not straight collericke, but fay your paternoster before you reprehend them for it; in which time, which is as fmall as may be, you shall, by tempering your wit with wisdome, sinde so tractable a medicine to drawe her from a fecond fault, as her penitencie will take cus: me non away all fuspition of hipocricie. Say but you are forrowfull to heare it, or ashamed to see it, and, of my word, her next shall be an oth neuer to commit the like folly. What a cheape fulpena is this to drawe an answere from the conscience! When, paraduenture, to deale otherwife, would come to neede a writ of rebellion. There is

no affurance better then that which is made with a fate confcience; and no man stands on a better ground, then he that buildes on his wives word. If she speaks it, why should we not rather believe her, then an other that should report no more vnto vs? Oh, I knowe what you will fay, because she speakes in her owne defence; and maye not the other flaunder vppon a malicious will? What will not the diuell doe for aduauntage, and what can hee doe without his inftrumentes? To bee too too cruell 1 breedes repentaunce, as well as care-[1 sig. F] leffenes forerunnes forrow. When tender droppes will pearce the flint, the hard stele is vnnecessarye; and where good counsell will correcte, a rod were better awaye then present. They say that ouerawing makes fooles, and what will they let to doe? It is as hard to get any good out of them that are witlesse, as to force water out of a flint; and yet I fay not but that good may be gotten of them; but with it, I affirme it must be by kind meanes. Fy, fy, sweete hart, Hec tib[i] what lose trickes are these! or what immodify will this be accounted! mecu[m], Will strike so deepely into a reformative conscience, as there shall communia not neede out vpon thee, with fome beaftly tearme of a brutish bona cur toung for a whit of correction. And they will drive an obe-terrus ista dient wife to fuch contrition, as there shall be no thought of an vnkind extrution, either of her out of dores, or of her good name and fame from it wonted reputation. Why is the husband called his wiues good-manne, but because hee ought to be a meane to withdraw her from fuch imperfections as nature hath left in her? He, in my iudgement, can be but a bad common wealthes man which is an ill husband, for, looke what ill fashions raigne vncorrected at home, the like inormities should rest in his forrain charge. For who knowes not that we have the greatest care (if we have any at al) of those things which are nearest vnto our selues? and why may not I affirme that fuch a one will respecte little a common profitte, when hee regards fo lightly his owne private wellfare? Oh, I woulde Robin might be tedious, not troublefome, hee would then endeauor a further probability of the ielious mans folly, but fearing he hath offended too too much already, hee will euen but thut vppe his remnant breefely.

The sweetest flower whose staulk sharpe prickles gard, Yeeldes pleafant fent, through care, without annoy:

The Goosbery, with hurtfull bushes ward, Surrenders up it felfe, through care to ioy.

[sig. F, back]

1 The rammish hauke is tand by carefull heed, And will be brought to floope vnto the lewre; The fercest Lyon will requite a deed Of curtefie, with kindnesse to endure.

What fish so proud as doth disdaine a baite? Nor fish, beast, foule, nor fruit, but takes the mate. Then fince that care speedes best with curteste, Vse care and kindnesse to mate Ielosy.

Nec blan-[]atis, nec [e11]t tibi co[mi]s amica, [pe]rfer post[m]odo [2 orig.

This is Robins counfell, a foueraigne oyle of experience to drawe away the droppinges of Ielofyes nofe, that fo much anoves the patients harte. Which must be wrought most gently, laboured with & ob[du]ra: the perswasions of reason, the effecte wherof, I warrant you, wil proue mits [eri]t. fo profitable, as either he will be freed from noyfomnes,² or haue his 12 orig. noysommes] nose put out of ioynt. Couetuousnes is a pestelent help to Ielosy: for how can he that hath fet al his loue on his money, be drawn to bestow part thereof on his wife? No, of my credit, he that hath crept into that vaine, hath fo far crawled from honefly, as hee cares not what iniury hee doth. He knowes that loue will aske cost; and why doth he loue the diuell, but to faue charges? For could be be contented to doe good, as he is forward to worke mischiese, he would deale with loue better then to locke him vp in his coffers. Oh, it is a fweete thing to him to dive vppe to the elbowe in a bagge, while the kind man bestowes his time in kisses. But let the other be affured, that whileft this inioves paradice, he shall be string to passe through the eie of an nedle, which shall proue vnposlible. It is a gay thing to come to dignity, but it is a more benificiall thinge to vse honefty; but whye doe I talke of honefty to them that neuer meant to enter eternity? Surely for no other cause, but for that Robin, knowinge the flauerye that is prepared for you, is moved to pitty, and could wish you had care to preuente the punishment of the cormorantes dungion. But I care not howe little honefty you have, fo you shunne Ielosy, for I onely harpe on that string at this present, which

I fay cannot bee alvoided without the entertainment of loue, who will [sig F 2] foone thrust him headlong besides his possession.

Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori. The passions of loue Desine are so passing kinde, as they subdewe wheresoeuer they become, yea, mihi) [vi]tia affuredly they will either conquere or kill; and because life is most vetando: fweete, we will rather yeeld to affection then die for Ielofy. Loue is v[in]ces a pleasing gout, which will suffer vs no more to be misled by vnrest, use tuo. then the tormenting gout wil give his patientes leave to rest while columniates the paine is vnceafing. And fuch a hartie dropfie is he, as he fwels nous præda, C[u]pido his criples affections with fo great kindnesse, as they fing no fong, but Porrigim[us] Ah, I loue. He is a nettle that stinges the hart with continuall plea- t[ua] vincla manus fure; and that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies, on Blandittæ comitest[ibi] whome none shall fix the fancy kindly, that shall not be stroken with erunt tetr[1]que a darte of conftauncy; hee is the greeuing woe that breedes continuall assidue ioy, the fond conceipt that fastens faithful thoughts in his place, and turba that euill that reapes eternall good. To rehearfe her qualities, were tuas. a new worke for Robin-good-fellow, and to followe his properties, [h]tibus not a labour without profit. But his chiefest qualitie 2 is to be kind homin[es] and his next to be constant; he euer forgiues, and still forgetes faultes. deosq[ue] He delightes not in breed-bates, nor doth he glory in the quarrells of elst] bello: deerest frendes, but all his actions are faithfull, and all his thoughtes pacem[que] frutfull. Dandill him, and he will sporte thee; set him in thy lappe, [2 orig. qua and hee will comfort thy hart; Speake him faire, and hee will kiffe thee kindly; like him onely, & he will loue thee euer. He neuer is hasty, but hee repentes thereof presently, paying for euery vnkinde worde a forrowfull hei ho. As he will be foone angry, fo is hee ftraight pleafed, & therfore was he fained to be little in being neuer long troubled with extreames. But there is a certaine madnesse which men call loue, the same prouing so great fondnesse, as every frowne of a mistrisse makes some melancholy a quarter after, and to match that, is foolish dotage set, both so hot passions for a while, as they proue in the end to be loues greatest enimy, euen pestelent Ielofy. The one will die if hee hath not his longing; as for the other (for that hee is more craftie), hee hath 3 many fubtill meanes to [3 sig. F 2, obtaine his defire; yet both of them are fo far from reason, as they Catch word hurt themselues willingly. Nowe, to iudge howe kind they will be

irritar[e] [ob]sequio aptius Èn ego [se]cuta His tu misuperas

to others, that be so crabbed to themselues, Robin leaves that to common reason. Yet because these two extreames, namely, mad fondnesse and dottage, are the onely meanes to helpe Ielofy, I will bee bould a little to touch them.

The extraordinary conceipt of obtained curtify, moues fuch a

liking in the ouer passionate louer, as all his sences are onely tied to one object, & his whol hart dedicated to that faint, the fole mistriffe of his hart. As the extremity which tormentes him, is eased with nought except what comes from her kindnesse, so his mad fittes, once croffed with discourtesie, breed that vncurable melancholy, which deadly grife and vntimely death do followe. But both of them being of hyr[spir]it perchance ftroken with the felfe fame arrowe, fhot from the vmpertiall blind boy his bowe, are rauished with the delighte they conceiue the one from the other, their thoughtes beeing heauenly, because true to each other, and their true loue vowed to eternity, manifested by no small fauours. Which happily euery day more and more encreasing frendship, remaines to both with wished contentment, vntill vnhappily, Ielofy (the professed enimye to louers profperity) picketh a quarrell with one or both, by false vnconstancy. Then beginnes our hot loue to turne to burning coles, prouing fuch fondnesse, as wee suspecte our owne shadowes. Wee gorge our selues nimium[u]ue fo vnreasonably with the delight of our faintes beautie, as wee cast vppe the hope of their faithfullnesse. We wil make them faintes, vertitur, [et] and thinke them diuells, louing them fo entirely, as our ouer much makes them vnhappy. Wee doe fet them vp in vndecent brauery, and fet them out with foolish praises; yet, should any strangers (though

> of the familiars forte) seeme to sue to them,-nay, I may truely say, fpeake to them, it may bee the better for the men, but bee affured it

> by which we most practise to vse them kindly, whome wee hate deadly; to speake them faire to their faces, whome wee curse behind their backs, 1 and to feede them with dainties, whom wee could wish

> poisoned. After the selfe same manner fare our wives: they have a kinde dinner and a crabbed fupper, fweete meate with fower fawce. and a pleafaunt drinke with a poisoned potion; so fonde extreames falling one on the others backe, as in a moment wee will vse them like Goddiffes (if we doe not confesse vnto them, they are no lesse

And now comes in diffinulation.

shall bee the worse for the women.

[P]inguis a[m]or patens, [in] tædia no[b]is stomacho [d]ulcis vt es[c]a, nocet.

[I] meane the [de]ath

or of hir

[lo]ue.

[1 sig. F 3]

vnto vs), and no otherwife then diuels, fwering now we hate them O facies & most deadly, whome euen now wee protested to loue most diuinely; tenere melos] fuche monftrous vnconftancy dooth this fondnesse nourish. Neither shall these trickes be extraordinary once in seauen yeares, but I would Robin could not avow that he hath feene them perfourmed on cle euery day in many places. Well, I will leave them to their amendes, and touche as briefly the dotor.

Who, after a little pampering (hauing perchance had his liberty in good pasture for halfe a yeare, without exercise), doth grow so frollicke, as he thinkes himfelf as youthfull as the yongest nagge, though he hath as many difeases as a iade can haue. In this brauery hee must bee furnished with a gay saddell, and none vnder a ladye maye ferue his tourne; I meane, while his prouender prickes, he wilbe fo lufty, as hee thinkes no woman too yong for him. In which vaine, beeing thus couragious, hee fpendes franckly, and fettes himfelfe foorth in the brauest manner, so that by his hope, quid non aurum? he will hap vppon fo vnequall a match (by practife prooued), as after one nights iourney, he begins to be iadifuly tired, euery day after growing miftruftfull. So that as his monftrous defire hath bene the meane to ioyne himfelfe with fuche inequallity, fo shall his knowne cold courage and her youthfull yeares be a line to leade him to Ielofy, Whose persuasions as yet have taken such desired effect, as at this time, where loue feekes to builde his kingdome, this his ennimy (I meane Ielosy) neuer furceaseth from armes vn till he hath loue out by the eares, being still accompanied with like bats, & alwaies followed by vnhappy discontentment. His prosperity, generally allowed off in mens conceits, is greedely followed by their vnconfrant hartes, which loue nothinge that 1 is eternall, nor like of any [-sig. F 3, back] loue but what wil alter dayly. And because I have entred so farre into the government of Ielofy, I will prefume to wade a little further into his kingdome.

In the countrey of Euery-place he raigneth, a ruler as pernitious as mightye, and more mightye then either vertuous or peaceable. As his kingdome is large, fo his fubiectes are many, his land beeing inhabited by people no leffe vnruely then himselfe, and his right mainetained by make-bates that neuer are fatisfied, vntill their owne bloud hath raunfomed the delight of their defired death.

his aduerfaries, and more his freendes, euery disposition drawne to follow his humours, and defirous of his entertainement, by reason his actions feeme pleafing, and his cause righte and profitable. regimente is well ftrengthned by force of men, having ftronge holdes, feeming no leffe delightfull in flow, though by experience it prooues most fruitlesse and barren. His chiefest citty and seat of pleasure (accompted of his subjectes the seconde Parradise) standes on the top of a high hill, called Mistrustfullnesse, at foote whereof runneth the swift river Vnconstancy, havinge this effecte in operation, that whofoeuer inbathe themselues therein, finde continuall alterations in their harts before fetled, and now tormented with variable thoughtes. In this ftreame are manye fandy shallowes, and as many daungerous holes, both continually vsed and frequented vnto, as well by the inhabitantes of that citie, as also by all fuch who chaunce to trauell that way. This citty hath his name 'Light of loue' maineteined by elders, whoe are elected, not for their wealth and wit, as in other countries, but for their envy and foolifhnesse. Their common trafficke is Exchaunge of Loue; and their profites, Disquietnesse and Hate. The fruite that delighte[t]h their appetites, is Faith-leffe Fancies; and the meates they feede on, Care & Vnrest. The sportes they ioy in, are continuall brawles, and the walkes they take pleafure in watching, and hope of finding. All their triumphes are Controuerfies in law, and all their turnies, for broken pates, with faggot flickes; their feaft day is repentaunce, and Death their Saboath.

[leaf F 4]

¹This citie bearing the chiefe fwaie for vnrulinesse, hath so dispersed her inhabitaunce into the other partes of the cuntrey, as, for the most part, there is neuer a cottage in Ielosyes common wealth, but harbours iourney men as bad as their maisters in condition. His houldes and castels are both stronge and many, being fortisted with deepe castrauelinges, and furnished with all kindes of ingions sit for warre. Theire artillery for defence, so well placed on the battlements of their towers, as they wonderfully and daungerouslye annoye their ennemy. Curses and Banninges are the least shot they carry, and a thousande bitter wordes will do no more then charge one of them. The natures of these people are variable, and they, beinge for the most parte salse harted, are likewise desirous still of new freends. The enterteinement they will give strangers is verye good, but the vsage of their

frendes and familiars, especially of their wives (as you have hard already), is generally too too bad. They, alltogether reiecting reason, performe rashly what so euer they thinke, and effecte diuelishly what so euer they practise. Their wills are their lawe, and suspecte their iudge, their iudgments being as lawlesse as their lawe is wanting reason and discretion. They bandy honesty as a tennis-ball, and play with good report, as a childe doth with an apple,—the one not being in quiet vntill it bee eaten, & the other neuer fatisfyed vntill their good hope be quite extinguished. The busy Ape comes not to so many shrowde turnes by his vnhappye trickes, as they come vnto mischiese by their troublesome dispositions; nor doth he deserve so much the whip to keepe him in awe, as they merrit the halter for bringing fo many vnto mifery. For if the law rewards him with a halfe penny corde, that doth rob a stranger of thirteene pence halfe penny, I knowe no reason howe they can bee accompted lesse then theeues, that either robbe their neighbours, or spoile themselues of their good names. He that killes himfelf, shalbe buried by the law in the commons; and why shoulde not he be intoombed vnder the gallowes, that not onelye cuttes his owne throate, hafting thereby to the diuell, but cuts his wives also, toling her thither for company?

Ah, foueraigne loue, whose sweetnesse salues the sowre,
And cures the woundes of every dying hart:
Thou kilst by kindnesse, if thou kilst; No lowre
Ads greater griefe to them that feele thy smarte.
Thou countes it paine enough, by proofe to finde,

How two kind hartes may fast remaine in one.

Thy captive bounds make but a conftant mind, And all thy warre is for long Peace alone.

Thou ties the mind, and lets their handes goe free:

Thou woundes the hart, and neuer hurtes the skinne:

Thy victory is, love for love to fee:

Thy greatest conquest, where there is least sinne.

Ah, sweetest love, thou wounds to cure for aye,
Whose sharpe short-night 2 procures a sweete long-day.

[2 orig. shor-nitght]

Such is loues enuy, and himselfe no worse an ennemy; hee fightes strongly, but to free euerlastingly; he tormentes happily, and cheereth

[1 leaf F 4,

Non mihi [m]ille placent. [n]on sum de[sul]tor amo[ri]s: Tu mı[h]ı (si qua fi[d]es' cura quos dederint annos mihi fila [S]ororum, vi[v]ere contingat teq[ue] dolente, mori. 1

frowardly; and both his fmiles & frownes are fo equally tempered, as his pleafing mixture makes a perfect medley, which yeelds most melodious conftancy. One loue and one life shall knit so perfect a knott of amity, as one death shall ende both their loyes and miseries. Her loue shalbe his life, and his life her loue, shee shall endure no torment without his torture, nor shall he suffer any extreamity withperistens, out her agony. His fickenesse shalbe her forrow, and her griefe woorfe then his deathes wound. Their care shalbe to encrease eachothers hartes-ease; and their strifes, which of them shall exceede the one the other in courtefy. Their dalliaunce shall bee rewarded with darlinges, whose fweete fauoured faces shal be continuall pledges of their faithfull kindnesse. The daughters shalbee like to their fathers. and the fonnes have the countenances of their mothers. encrease shalbe multiplied, their substance doubled and trebled, till it come to aboundance, liuing fo longe as three folde gene² rations shall make joyfull great grand-mothers, and degrees of honour make happy posterities. They shall adde so great a blessing to their store, as time shall not take away the memory of them, nor fame fuffer their antiquitye euer to die. A woor[I]d shall ende with their honour, neither shall that world decay vntill their dignity be registred in the true cronicles of eternity.

Thus shall loues followers be thrife happy, and thus Robin goodfellowes well-willers, in imitating his care, bee manifolde bleffed. They shall have their hartes defire, and I my wishe, which I pray may happen to both our contentmentes; and fo, farewell.

A good deal of the Latin side-notes comes from Ovid's Amores, book 3, elegy 4.-W. C.

[2 sig. G]

¹ To the Gentlewomen and others of England.

which are most passionate, and as amorous as who exceedes in affection, hath only bought for you a dramme of wit, amounting to sower pennye charges to passe for a new-yeares gift. The dedication

[sig. G



Ourtious and louely Dames, fome, to winne your fauour, prouid fuche costly giftes as may beseeme your acceptance; and others, so rare deuises as a yeares trauell hath purchased; but Tell troth, though as serviceable as they

whereof, I have rather fubicated to your curtefie, then to mens patrocinie; for that your felues, being of the purest mettall, and hauing your hartes framed of the kindest moule, will be both more ready to defend our good meanings, and willing to hinder that hagges proceedings, your wills will be leaft followed, and therefore your wits must be most vsed; wherby you, whose sweete slowing tounges charme more then the Orphean musicke, must straine your melodious notes to that heigh[t], as by your fingularitie you may make Ielofie ashamed, & by solemme vowes, breake the necke of suspition. You must diswade with wordes, and perswade by modest behauiour, confounding by wit, and confirming with difcretion; Following Robins rules to preuent the diuells practife, and making much of loue, to withftand Ielofies councell. And for that Tell troth tells the truth, which by triall you must proue, vse Robins salue to heale your fore, and performe his will to inioy your weale, whereby your confirmation may approue his cunning, and allowe my perfumption in a 2 greater matter. Robin hath here but onely touched that generall [2] leaf G2; knowne enimie to a quiet life; but hee meanes, by your further this leaf is blank. fauourable protection, shortly to arme you against many pettie aduersaries, which worke against loues welfare. If, in the meane time, your good reportes knocke downe the bufie carppers, it shall bee a fufficient spurre to make both Robins wit and my pen to triumph in spite of them, which shall, by wading further to anger them, light into that vaine which will better content you. Vntill which time (because I would not be tedious) I will leave you, submitting the wish of your welfare to the pleasure of your owne wills.

Yours, as he hath euer beene,

Tell troth.

[Mr H. C. Levander has kindly identified the side-notes of Tell-Troth by means of his Ovid Index, and copied them out as follows:—

Ouo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat? Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.—Ovid. III. Am. IV. 41. Indignere licet; juvat inconcessa voluptas Sola placet, Timeo, dicere si qua potest.—III. Am. IV. 31. Quicquid servatur, cupimus magis; ipsaque furem Cura vocat: pauci, quod sinit alter, amant.—III. Am. IV. 25 Ferreus est, nimiumque suo favet ille dolori, Cui petitur victa palma cruenta rea.—II. Am. V. 11. Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.—Art. Am. I. 442. Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.—Horace, Epist. I. ii. 69. Cic. de Off. III. i. 3] Ov. Art. Am. II. 183. Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus. Franges, si vires experiare tuas.—Art. Am. II. 179. Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas; Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit.—III. Am. IV. 7. Si sapis, indulge dominae; vultusque severos Exue.—III. Am. IV. 43. Centum fronte oculos, centum cervice gerebat Argus: et hos unus saepe fefellit Amor.—III. Am. IV. 19. Quod licet, ingratum est; quod non licet, acrius urit: II. Am. XIX. 3. Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.—III. Am. IV. 17. Cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.—III. Am. IV. 9. O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem! Me miserum! quare tam bona causa mea est?—II. Am. V. 7. Per Venerem juro, puerique volatilis arcus, Me non admissi criminis esse reum.—II. Am. VII. 27. Haec tibi sunt mecum, mihi sunt communia tecum: In bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit?—II. Am. V. 31. Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis amica; Perfer, et obdura; postmodo mitis erit.—Art. Am. II. 177. Desine (crede mihi) vitia irritare vetando; Obsequio vinces aptius ipse tuo.—III. Am. IV. II. En ego confiteor; tua sum nova praeda, Cupido: Porrigimus victas ad tua vincla manus.—I. Am. II. 19. Blanditiae comites tibi erunt, Terrorque, Furorque, Assidue partes turba secuta tuas.—I. Am. II. 35. His tu militibus superas hominesque Deosque.—I. Am. II. 37. Nil opus est bello : pacem veniamque rogamus .- I. Am. II. 21. Pinguis amor, nimiumque patens, in taedia nobis Vertitur; et stomacho, dulcis ut esca, nocet.—II. Am. XIX. 25. O facies oculos nata tenere meos!—II. Am. XVII. 12. Non mihi mille placent: non sum desultor Amoris: Tu mihi (si qua fides) cura perennis eris. Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi fika Sororum, Vivere contingat; teque dolente mori.—I. Am. III. 15.]

^{*} There are several various readings of the words in Italics.

[THE

PASSIONATE MORRICE,

A SEQUEL TO

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT, 1593.

By A.]



To the Gentlewomen and others

of England.



Nce more (most beautiful damsels) I am bold to presume of your wonted fauour, thereby being lead to a performance of a vowed duetie: where a kinde zeale bindeth to offer the acceptance of a feruiceable good will, there a

carefull feare that forewarneth to incurre the hazard of offence, maketh the hart to flagger betweene hope and despaire; hoping through the kindenes of your gentle dispositions, to obtaine a defence against iniurious cauillers, and fearing by an ouer-bolde prefumption, to offer offence to the affable fweetenes of your foueraigne curtefie. But feeing my defire to bee possessed of the better cordiall, makes me hart-strong to suppe of that potion which is likest to lengthen my welfare, the fame being an affured confidence of your continuall carefulnes, in shrowding with your affection the slender substance of my humorous Morrice.

It is not long fince, for Tel-troths Newyeeres-gift, I prefented vnto your liking Robin good-fellow his newes, with his inuective against Loues most iniurious enemie, Ielousie; which, though it was a token to gratifie the day, yet, if with indifferent iudgement, the matter therein contained be confidered of, I doubt not, though it was a New-yeeres day toy, it may proue a many yeeres helpe to hinder that hagges enterprifes. The worke tooke his title according to the time of his creation 1; but shall Robins prescript 2 ions be followed? [rorig. creation 1] the patients maladie shall continually finde it a gifte to fignifie the 12 pt- orig. ⁸ good beginning, and profperous proceeding of many new yeeres vnto [3 sig. A 2, them. But now to fend *Tell-troth* packing, *Honeflie* hath thrust back] himselfe into your seruice, who, though at the first fight he may feeme a crabbed companion, yet let me befeech you to fray your

cenfure til you haue throughly tryed what is in him; and if then he shewes not himselse a diligent pleaser of your immortal vertues, memorize in the Cronicles of Disdaine the same of that runnagate simplicitie, and let me, for his faulte, be banished from your good thoughts to euerlasting ignominie.

I was rather defirous to trauel altogether inuifible, then to have had a title which might giue light to the vnderstanding of me your vnworthie professed Author; but since the higher powers denie me that priviledge, I am content to subject my self to the opinions of courteous dispositions; beseeching you to beare with my vaine, for that the vanitie of this age regardes no other; nor would any be content to heare of faultes, vnlesse they be tolde them in meriment. I protest there is nothing scandalous therein, nor which is ment to offer iniury to any; onely my purpose is, that if you should know any like vnto any of those in disposition, that either you forewarne them those monstrous iniurious vices, or accompt of them as pestilent soolish wretches. To shun tediousnes, I commit my intention to your misticall consideration, my woorke to your courteous protestion,

my felfe to your fauourable opinions, and your facred felues to the heavens tuition.

Yours in feruice and affection most loyall, A.



[sig. B]

$THE PASSIONATE^{1}$ Morrice.



N the moneth of March, a time as fit for wooing, as May is pleafant to sporte in, Honestie trauelling, as his custome is, to search such corners as good fellowship haunteth, it was my hap, comming into Hogsden, to light

vpon a house, wherein were met fuch a troupe of louers, as, had not the hall been wondrous bigge, a multitude should have been forced to fland without dores. Yet, though the roume was fo spatious, as an armie might haue lodged therein without pesterment, notwithstanding it was fo well filled at this inftant, as all the place Honestie could get amongst them was, to sit on the rafters on the top of the house, which fitted best my humour, that desires rather to see then to be feene. There, feated in my Maiestie (as ready to heare newes, as the pickthanke is forward to tell newes), I might easely perceaue my louers mated, as if they ment to make Marche birds, euery man hauing his fweete hart, and euery couple their corner. There were of all fortes, and in many manners forted,—fome batchelers fewed to widdowes, others to maides; widdowers likewife wooed fome maides. and otherfome, widdowes; there was age and youth coupled together, equalitie of yeares courting each other, and diversity of dispositions, arguing to make a sympathie.

² Amongst them I lent my eares first to a couple that had chosen [2 sig. B, forth the most secret corner in the house, which were not worst fitted for yeares; for it was a youth of three and twentie, that had matched himselfe with a maide of eighteene; hee, holding her vpon his knee, with his right hand clasping hers, & his left about her middle, made many proffers to win her fauour, and breathed many fighes to shew his loue; he vowed conftancie with protestations, and confirmed with

othes the pleadge of his loyaltie; he shewed her how long he had Ioued her before he durst tel her of his affection, how many iournies he had made with losse of labour, and how many complaintes to the God of Loue, not finding any remedie. Hee made her privie to the many houres he had at fundrie times spent in watching to haue a fight of her, shewing vnto her how ioyfull he were, had he, perchance, but feene any creature belonging to her fathers house, yea, were it but the little dog that turned the spit. 'Many times (quoth he) have I lookt vp to the windowe, imagining I have feene thy picture engrauen in the glaffe, when, with long gafing to viewe the true portrature thereof, I have at last recalled my selfe, by letting my foule fee how mine eyes were deceived, in expecting that true forme from the glaffe, which was onely pictured in my heart. Then would I forrowe to my felfe, and power forth fuch passions into the ayre, as my heart, being ouer loaded with the extremitie they would force, would conftraine me to fit downe, ending my speeche with such fighes, as my breathed forrowe would no leffe darken the ayre, then a mistie fogge doth obscure the skie. But at last, comming to my felfe, I would returne home, locking vp my felfe within my lodging, a close prisoner by the commandement of loue; where, to passe away the time, I would write passionate lines, amorous ditties, pleafing fancies, pleafant ronddelaies, and dolefull drerelayes. Now would I thinke to winne thee by letters; anon I thought it better to pen speeches; but suddainely, both misliking mee, I would throwe 1 my felfe vppon the bed, fo long thinking which way to obtaine thee, as in the end I should fall into a slumber. Yet, amidst my reft, my thoughtes concerning thee were reftles; For then should I dreame fometimes thou spakest me faire, repaying my kindenes with fweete kiffes, granting my requests, and forward to doe my will; but awaking from forth that foueraigne elufion, looking to finde thee, I should feele the bed-poastes, that hard hap, turning my glad heart to a new bread forrow, which was the more painefull, by how much my dreame was pleafing; at another time, I should thinke, that suing to thee for fauour, thou wouldest bestowe frownes, & profering my feruice, thou wouldst offer skornes. If I sighed, thou wouldst smile, laughing at my teares, and joying at my griefe, requiting enery kinde demande with fo cruell answers, as if thy bitter words could not force

[' sig. B 2]

me to leave my fuite, thy skornefull farewels should frustrate my wil; offering to touch thine hand, mee thought thou profereds[t] thy foote, and flouping to catch that, being glad of any thing, thou wouldst in a rage fling from me, and leave the doore barred against me. There should I fit till my teeth chattered in my head, and my heart aked in my bellie; then should I shake for colde, and sigh for sorrowe; when, thinking to knock my legges against the ground to get heate, I should kick al the cloathes off me, being in the end constrained to awake through colde. At what time that colde fare would better content me, then the former flattering cheare did please me, being as glad it was false, as I would have been glad if the other had been true. Many like to these did I endure before my acquaintance with thee, not knowing any meanes how to obtaine the same of thee, vntill happely finding thee in a fommers evening at the dore, I prefumed to enter parlie with thee, offering my felfe your feruant, which had been a tweluemoneth your fworne fubiect, doubting of your patience, though you feeme to be a patterne of pittie. How, and after what order I have fince that time befought your fauour, your felfe shall 1 be my judge, for I list not to rehearse my dayly shiftes to [* sig. B 2, back] fhewe my zeale, my manyfolde conclusions to obtaine your companie, my giftes to wooe the feruants, and my prefents to gaine your good But to be briefe, thereby to come to that I like best, one whole yeare I loued thee before thou knewest me, & three more are passed since first I spake to thee; yet then was I as neare as now I am, and now as farre off as I was then. Say, therefore, fweete, fince to ftay longer yeelds but little comfort, shall my fuite now end with the verdit, You loue me?'

To which long preamble, thut vp with fo whot a conclusion, the no lesse prepared herselfe to answere him, then Frier Tuck vsed ceremonies before he fong mattens. She cast her eyes vp to Heauen, as if she had been making her praiers to loue, fighing so bitterly, as I thought hir placket lace would have broken; then to the matter thus fhe answered: 'Alas, gentle fir, I must confesse I haue found you kinde, and you have been at a great deale more cost then I could wish you had; your fuite hath been long, and my kindenes not much, nor doe I hope you expect more at my hands then you have had, before my friends haue granted their good will. Maidens are modest, and

must not bee prodigall of their courtesie; children are bound, and cannot confent without their parents counfell; pardon mee, therefore, I pray you, if I fay I loue you not, fince my father knowes you not; and thinke not much if I defire you to leaue to loue mee, vntill my mother giue me leaue to like of you. At which time, affure your felfe I will bee as ready to performe your will, as they shall be forward to wish me that good; and thus, in the meane time, I hope you will rest satisfied.' This was a shroade bone for my paffionate youth to gnawe on, that being fo ftrucken on the head as his heart aked therewith, thought to ease his forrowe with this replie: 'Ah, my fweetest sweete (quoth hee), Thinke not on thy fathers counsel, seeing a greater friend craueth his deserte, nor let me rest their leasure without pitie, that hath thus long remained constant vnto 1 thee. I loue thee not 2 for thy freendes sake, though I [2 orig. nor] loue them for thy fake; nor doe thou lothe me for their pleasure that liues but at thy pleafure. But, fweete and foueraigne of my hart, as thy thoughts be not tied to their wils, fo let not thy loue be linked fo fast to their liking, as their mislike should end my life by remouing thy loue. Say, my goddeffe-' and therewithall, as he was proceeding, fhe cut off the rest with this short answere: 'I beseech you, sir, to leaue off your courting, vnlesse you entend some other conclusion then as yet I can gather; for, of my faith, loue you I wil not, nor consent; I dare not, without my freends give their confents first; ' and thereupon the thrusted through the throng, and poasted out of doores, leauing my passionate louer to say his pater noster alone; where we will leaue them.

> What I thought I will tell you, and I hope you will not doubt of the matter, for that Honestie speakes it. One yeeres loue without acquaintance, and three yeeres fuite to be neuer the neerer; either he was a bad lawyer, or the a monstrous vniust judge; but be it, both a paffionate Affe, and a peeuish wench were well met. But marke his folly and her cunning; he, building Castles in the aire, and setting trappes in the Sunne to catch the shadowe of a coye queane, was pleafed by her, with wagging his bawble and ringing his bell, while fhe pickt his pocket and cut his purffe. A proper peece of feruice of a passionate Souldier, and a prettie sleight of a flattering Slut; I would we had more of them, nay, why wish I that, fince the worlde

[1 sig. B 3]

is too full of fuch alreadie? Yet, of my honesty, she was as fitte a match for fuch a foole as might be found in the worlde. A great deale of fond fancie repaied with a sharpe shorte deniall, and three yeeres affection rewarded with an ounce of flatterie, mingled with a pound of discurtesie, a good cordiall to comfort so kinde a hart. Oh, the fubtilty of the diuell, that vnder the shadow of obedience couers the craft of cosonage. It is hotte loue that buildes on freendes liking, and pestilent affection that relies rather on the mothers 1 loue, [r sig. B 3, then on the Louers loyaltie. Such as stands so curiously on their Parents good will, having dealt fo craftily without their confent, are worthie, by Honesties doome, to stand in a Cage, vntill either their freends good will be got, or her sweet harts licence obtained for her deliuerie. And this is too good, for that the kinde Asse wil too too soone release her; I thinke this punishment would be worse welcome vnto her, namely, that she be bound from mariage, so long as she hath kept him without his answere, which will so pinche her prodigall defire, as either she will forsweare honestie, or neuer commit the like knauerie. Oh, there is a companie of minions which delight to haue many futors, that they may bragge amongst their mates of their diuersitie of louers; they thinke it commendable to have store of customers. But knewe they so much as I know, they were better to goe once in a fortnight to Greenes Cunnyberries, then to have fuch reforte to haunt their companies.

Honestie honours the confent of Parents, but abhorres such loue as is built on their liking; if there be no remedie but that either they shall like, or thou wilt not loue, let him have thy Fathers good will before he obtaines thy countenance; for doubtles fhe that will entertaine louers, and repay their courting with kindenes, will care as little for her freends counfell, hapning on a mate she can fancie, as the horse wil for have, that hath his manger full of prouender. And, what is the cause why so many stande so curiously on their freends confent? nought, forfooth, but the prefumption of a double baite. that being fure of their countenance, they may be affured of an other dinner if their owne likes them not; or otherwise to haue a hole to hide a Fox in, for that her owne denne is not fecret enough. If her Husband controlle her for any misdemeanour, or reproue her of any dishonest behauiour, then on goes her pantoples, building the

reckoning of her honesty on her fathers countenance, so far presuming of his bounden duetie for the match making, as if he kept the keye of leaf B 4] of her huswiferie. Her long toung vtters large speeches, standing at defiance vnder the banner of her Fathers desence, and his house must be her Castell to keepe her from her Husband. This is the commoditie a man shall reap by such a match; and this is their meaning that would couer their rebellion with the cloak of obedience. Is not he well preferred that is so well married? and how can he mend it? Marry, no way but this, that he which is mated with the like inconuenience, to learne more wit against the next time, striuing, in the meane time, to please both her and her freends, since he had so much reason to woo both her freends and her, to be bound to so bad a bargaine.

It is follie (quoth a wife man) to be forrowful for things irrecouerable, and Honestie thinkes it madnes to repent for deedes done, whereof her felfe is culpable; can any man be fo witles (especially in matter wherein wifedome is fo much required) as to doe, and wish vndoone in a moment? yea, doubtles, Honestie knowes such, they being the hotte spurres of our age, that thinke euery day a twelue moneth vntill they be married; and after they are matched, euery houre feauen yeeres vntill they are parted. It was hotte loue that will be so soone colde, some of you will say; but I say, if it had been hot loue (as it was burning luft), it would not have been fo foone colde. For whereas the prouerb goes, that hot love wil be foone colde, it is ment by fuch affection as wants matter therby to continue longer. For as that is the pureft wood which yeelds the perfecteft heat, and the purer it is, the fooner it wilbe it own destruction, leauing the fitters by without fire, vnles a fresh fupply be as neede requires added, -fo wil our hotte loue (whose kindled affection is come vnto it perfection, the hart being on fuch a blaze, as eucry part of it is on a light flame,) decay (as reason and nature requireth), vules new faggots of kindenes adde fresh matter for fiering, the supply thereof remouing all fuspition of want of affection. How pure the loue is where there is fo light a regarde of proffered kindenes, as 'my Fathers will,' or 'my Mothers leaue' must be a Spurre 2 to my liking, let euery one judge that knowes loue.

_2 leaf B 4, back]

But, in my opinion, as I confesse that the duetie we owe to our

Parents may doo muche where the knowledge thereof bindes to obeye; fo must I confirme that loue is a duetie, himselfe binding to fo great obedience, and tying with fuch ftrong conuaiances, as he remoues all thoughts of lower dueties; I, tearming al dueties lower, for that by commaundement those dueties must be rejected in respect of the louing duetie that a Huíband shall require. Now, how far my nice Minion was from knowing this duetie, her coye demeanour and cunning behauiour hath manifested. Yet how happie was my youth at last to be rid of such a monster! And monster may I tearme her, in respect of her lewde behauiour; for was it not much better that her inconftancie should have beene knowen before he was fast linked vnto her, then it should have beene found when it had been incurable? Doubtles it was a good cause he had to double his orifons vnto loue, for fo louingly preferuing him from fo peftilent a prittie-bird,-I should have said pricking-burre, or paultry bauble.

B Ut to come to my fecond couple, which were feated opposite to these in an other corner, being a lustie widdower that was courting a gallant wench, both of them being highly beholding to nature for her liberall skill in their making, which were thus placed: She was fet down, ouerlooked by him standing before her, hauing one of his hands leaning on her lap, and the other resting on the wal, having therby (as I gesse) the more libertie to vse his pleasure, in bestowing kinde kisses and louing fauours; so he was seated, and thus he began to fue: 'Faire Maide (quoth he), I know my experience to be greater then your practife, for that I have tried, rules me by reason; having loued and lived with my loue, vntill by the fates I was bereaued of that fruit. fo well liked I of my last losse, as my former good hap breeds an affured hope of the like good fortune. that being a helpe to further my will, and a meane to make a new choise; which change, what good it shal yeeld, 1 your selfe shall chal- [1 sig. C] lenge, whose good reporte hath bound me to commence my deserts. to receive their censure by your doome. To boast what I am, were friuolous, for that your freends are alreadie privie to my estate; and to fay how well I loue you, were booteles, for that women loue to trie ere they trust; yet, vales I should say more then I have saide, I should seeme to say nothing; though to say more then is spoken

already, were meerely foolish. For thus stands the case: I have made choise of you for my second wife, and haue already your freends good will; there refles therefore nothing but a confirmation of your duetie, in agreeing to that they have confirmed: 'thus comming to a full point, he closed vp his period with a brace of smirking kisses, which wrought with his Louer, as a strong pyll dooth with a fore sicke patient; namely, they forced her to answere him thus shrewdely: 'The affurance of your good fortune, Sir, hath made you highly beholden to her deitie, that dauncing in the morrice of good matches, you should be led by her to so good hap; but, belike, it was ouer good to continue long, either her kindenes being ouermatched with your vnconstancie, or your good happe ouer ruled by fortunes cruelty; They euer change, and lightly, neuer but for the worfe; which the rather feemes so vnto me, by the fure knowledge I have of your fecond choice, that is fo far vnequall to your reported first match, as I know your liking would not remain long, or my misliking would come too too foone; because I am not able to follow what your first wife hath performed, and you will be vnwilling to beare with the wants your fecond choice must be enriched with. But, peraduenture, I mistake your meaning; for whereas I thinke you sue to have me to your fecond wife, you feeke but to haue my good wil to liue with my freends; alas, good fir, my duetie (as you fay) must not gainsay their pleafure, nor will I, for that matter; but with all my hart, if you haue their licence for your boord, haue my good will to obtaine your bed there also, for their house is at their owne commaundement.' 'Then doubt I not (replyed he) to 1 haue you for my bedfellow.' But that doubt I (answered she), for that I know the contrary.' 'Why dare you (quoth he) to disobay your Fathers commaundement?' 'No (fayd she), so it be for my commoditie.' 'It shall be both for your profite and preferment.' 'Make me to beleeve that (quoth she), and then, peraduenture, it may be a bargaine.' 'Why, woman (faide he), I deserue your better.' 'Take her (answered she), and I will not be matched to your inferiour.' 'Why, then, I fee you do scant loue me?' 'I vse it not (quoth she), and yet I sweare I will mocke you, rather then marrie with you.' With which, being highly displeased, he bestowed three or foure crabbed tearmes, being liueries of his cholerick long toung, and fo departed.

sig. C,

A shame goe with him, thought Honestie, whatsoever she thought, and with all fuch Louers! louers, with a halter,-lubbers, I may better tearme them. What monstrous matches are such as are shuffled vp after the selfe same order! Suppose she had beene searefull, and durst not to have resisted the receipt of what she lothed; imagine she had beene foolish, and could not have judged of affection? thinke she had beene forward, and would have beene glad of any one? alas! poore wretch, I pittie the supposition; what should I have faid to the confirmation? I know affiredly she should have fighed, whatfoeuer I had faide; and mourning should have been her companion, what ere had been my communication: he would have daunst with her portion, while she had drooped through want of affection; he would have loathed her company, for that she was not a dayly commoditie; her life should have been like the hacknies that are at euery mans commaundement for the hire, and her ioy as momentary as the florishing greene graffe in Iuly. Pitifully should fhe haue liued, punished by him without pitie: and this is my reason of the poffibilitie; for that it is most likely he loued her not, & how well any body vie them they loue not, let them speake that suspect not. Now, that he loued her not, may be proued both by his kinde of wrong, carelestye suing vnto her, peremptorily v1surping her Fathers [1 sig. Ca] authoritie, which was a band to tye her to obedience, though a bad meane to obtaine her curtefie. For affection is not to be limitted, nor loue to be compelled; but, contrarily, hatred followes feare, and feare forerunnes mislike; and how we loue those we regarde not. iudge they that woo and obtaine not. But this custome is too common and ouer cruell, namely, a wooing of freends, and a conftraint of loue, I would not fay compelling, but for feare it should have been taken for compelling. Were Honestie a Justice, they should either lye in the stockes a fortnight, or marry her I would match him with, which should seeke a wife after this order. I thinke, verily, he would rather stay his stint by the heeles, then be bound to the other inconvenience; and yet he could finde in his hart to binde another to the bad bargaine. This is charitie, yea, & neuer a whit of honestie, being so farre from ciuilitie, as the Millers craft is from true dealing. Now, truely truly, to deale as we would be dealt with, is fent to the hedge a begging, and neighbourly loue is made a hacknie,

being so worne to the bones with seeking a good Maister, as his skinne will hang on the bush shortely.

I have heard a reporte of a passing kinde man that complained of his wife at a Sessions for pissing a pot full, iudging thereby she was dishonest; and that same man shortly after burying his wife, sued to a maide, after the manner aforesaid; he had obtained her freends good will, and were at a point for the Maidens loue; yet on a time fhe was troubled with the head-ake at his being with her, whereof he fo misliked, as in the morning he went to the Phisitions to haue their opinions to what difease it coulde turne, and vpon their reporte left her. I am affured I haue erred in no point, vnlesse I haue mistooke the last, putting the Phisitions opinion in the roome of his owne bad meaning: it was no difeafe, indeede, that misliked or misled him, but it was of the Fathers pursse, not of the Daughters head; well, the was well prouided for in missing of him, and if he sped any thing the better, let him boast of it; but Honestie can judge no better of the remnant of his companions, then his action gives the verdict of him, which is as bad as may be.

But to another that hapned on one that had the toothake, with whom he would not marry for feare the hollownesse of her tooth should corrupt her breath, and fo annoye his colde fromack. It was colde indeede, and I would fuch stomacks might be heated with redde hotte gold, as cheerfull as fcalding leade. Well, to a third: he liked her parents wel, for that they were honest & godly, and as well of the maiden, because she seemed modest; to be breef, he could find no faulte in either of them, onely his feare was that the Daughter would be fomewhat shrewish, for that she had a long nose, and thereupon gaue her ouer. If her nose had beene long enough, I think she might have smelt a knaue, but I am affured she knewe a churle, and fo let her claime him wherefoeuer she sees him. Yet one more of the same stampe, and so we will leave them. a wooer in graine, who had gone so far, as they were at next doore to be askt in the Church. The wedding apparel was bought, the day appointed, yea, and I may tel you, many of the gette bid, only there was no affurance, for that he abhorred; but it fortuned that before the day there dyed a rich man that left a welthic widdow, to whom he made fo fecret loue, as he wonne her good will within a

1 sig. C 2,

fortnight after the death of his predeceffour; well, notwithstanding, to faue his counterfeit credit and preserue his hypocriticall honestie, he reforted dayly to his olde fweete hart, with whom youn fome fmal reason he fel at ods, vsing her so vnkindly in speeches, as he drew teares for forrow. Glad of this, though turning his earnest into iest, he called her vnto him, in the prefence of many of her Fathers feruants; then fwearing that if she tooke him not about the necke & kiffed him, he would neuer marry with her as long as he liued. Which the yong Gentlewoman refused to doe, partely for that he had injured her highly, but the rather least such fondnes should seeme immodestie to the servants; vpon whose denial, in a great I fume he [sig. C 3] flung forth of the doores, and in a rage as if of spight, within one fortnight after he matcht with the widdowe aforesaid. tell you what a life she lead with him, were to hunt from the purpose; yet affure yourselfe it was so bad, as the world judged this maid neuer better bleft then in not being bestowed ne cast away vpon him.

Such, and of the same forte, are these money-woers, that sue first to the Father, to faue labour; for, speede they will; and if they misse in one place, they knowe another where they will practife. And how can it be judged otherwise, seeing their meaning in vsing that meane importes no leffe? for, thinke they, 'if I have the Fathers good will, the daughter will be eafilie wonne; and if I misse of his, I saue that time and labour, in fuing to the maide, befides the giftes I should bestowe.' Ha, ha! I have him by fent: and what thinke you of him? in faith, no otherwise then Honestie beleeues. You smell a Foxe? I, and a ranke one too, whose breach is so stainde with this gilding matter, as it may easely bee judged what muck hee loues. 'Alas! good hearts, that are coupled with fuch bad mindes, this is loue; true; but what loue? couetous loue, hatefull diffimulation, hipocriticall affection, and what not that is contrarie to the sweete soueraigne loue, which fues for kiffes and not for coyne, which craues the heart & nothing else; for with it, al she hath is his; and he that wil looke for more, I would he had a halter; and he shall not want it in hell, howfoeuer he speedes here. Fie, fie! mariages, for the most part, are at this day fo made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, fo wil men fel their children. He that bids most shal speed soonest; & so he

hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been fo, and I hope it wil not be long fo; & I wil affure you, loues common-wealth wil neuer florish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will give with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer. Out, alas! what loue is this? in faith, if [1 sig. C 3, I 1 might have fped better in another place, come to notice after I back] haue bought your daughter, she shall pay for it, or I will make dice on her bones. A pittifull partenership, where there is no greater loue; and how can but one of them be vndone? He will vse her ill, because he loues her not; and shee cannot loue him for not vsing her well; for whome we feare we hate, and what then? Hee will practife her ende; she will wish his death; and while they liue together, it will be so full of heartbreakings through quarrels and contentions, as woe to them both, I, and to the third too, that was fo forward to make fo bad a matche. But, howfoeuer they two fpeede, I am affured thee will speede worse: as for hir husband, he will not want excuses to defend his knauerie; and hir Father must beleeue him, because of hir former credit given vnto him; so that contented she must be, how discontented so euer she liues; and beare it she must, vntill her hart breake; which happie day must ende her miserie, and fet my craftie wooer at libertie.

Thus much for my fecond corner: and now to my third couple, which were civilly feated on a benche together, they being, the one a batcheler, and the other a widdowe, which was wooed by him after this like order: 'It were follie, forfeeth (quoth he), to vie circumflances, fince you are fo well acquainted with the like practize; but to leave them and come to the matter, which is (as I thinke) the best meane to please vs both, you shall vnderstand that vpon the good reporte your honest life hath deserved, I have conceived so good liking of you, as I should thinke my selfe happie if I should speede no worse.' 'I thanke you (answered she) for your good will; but furely, Sir, I thinke you have deceived your felfe. For, peraduenture, you imagine, or it hath been vntruely reported, that I am the woman, which indeede I am not; namely, ritche, for that my deceased husband made fome showe to the world; but if that bee your thought, I

affure you you are deceived.' 'You mistake my meaning (replied hee), for it is no fuch matter; I relipect not so much your wealth, as [1 leaf C 4] I doo your matronlike modeftie; my felfe is young, and I haue a trade, and am, I thanke God, of my felfe able to maintaine a woman. But I doo rather defire to match with your like, then with a younger, for that you knowe better both what belongs to a man, as also to vse thriftely what I get. And, moreouer, my felfe is not fo young, but that I am meeter to match with a widdowe then to marrie with a maide, and would be most glad if it might be my good happe to fpeede with you.' 'I cannot tell (quoth she) what your good speede may be; I knowe you not, and therefore I hope you will give me leaue to enquire of you; which done, I will fend you your answere by fuch a day; in the meane time, I wish you well.'

I, mary, Honestie, & what then? no marry these: forth she went to her broker, to will him to fearch after his fubstance, vfing that manner which vfurers can best disclose, which is their practise in putting forth their money. This was a passing commoditie; for what better then a ritche widdowe? but that foolish enquirie spoyled all; had shee thankt him heartily, desired farther libertie, and had made fearch into his estate secretly, shee had shewed her selfe the wifer; but fo bluntly to faie, 'giue mee leaue to enquire of you,' shewed as bad bringing vp as might bee possible. But, tut! I like her the better, because she could not dissemble; for she, alas! did but followe the common trade, dooing with the ape but what she had seene done before her. She had heard her husband instruct his prentices to make a profit, and she thought she might trie the same for her own good. I would shee and others knewe what was good for them; they would then rather respect the man then money. But this couetousnes spoyles all, though 'I would I had more,' is too much in our mouthes; for, followed she not the greedie desire of adding muck to muck, might shee not as well have lived with this man, that had a trade as good, yea, much better then her husbands was, as shee did before with him? Shee had no children; fuppose she had, they were [2 leaf C 4, back] prouided for well; and what greater charge woulde this haue brought? he had a care to liue, or else hee would have sought to loue without respect; for who knowes not that she is as able to fatisfie a mans defire that hath little, as she that hath much,

if we onely regarde pleafure? Take this on Honesties credit, that hee that buildes his loue on fuch reason, as having little, hee will chose one that hath somewhat, wil proue a better match vnto thee, then him that brings mountaines. Beware when loue is vpholden with maintenance; if the heart remembers, 'I am thus much beholden vnto her, shee loued mee or else shee would neuer haue matcht with me; the made me a man, being before worfe then nothing; how much better might she haue done, if she had not been led with affection,' and fuch like; It will also remember the duetie this kindenes requireth, euen like for like, least the worse crie shame of him. How happie should parents be, were this in their remembrance at their mariges making! how bleffed should their children be, if the like practifes were vsed! and what a florishing commonwealth would that be, where equalitie of birth (which alwaies should bee regarded, specially on the mans side) should bee linked to abundance. whereby the number of gentle beggers should be decreased, and the mifgouernement of wealth will be avoided. One man should not haue his cofers ful, and twentie want it that better deserue it. How many able men should we have (if this were vsed) to serue and set forth men for the princes feruice, where now I am but one man, and I am bound but to my flint, to finde one mans charge, though I have five mens livings. But no more! this is too ferious for Honeflie, & I meruaile how I fell into this vaine, fince I studied to bee pleafant. What, thinke you, did my widdowe after her fearch of enquirie, for you must thinke that the batcheler longed for his answere? Marry, though she was not a foxe in her speeches, yet shee proued no lesse in her dooing, for now shee kept her house as closely, as hee dooth his holde craftely. She mislikt of the man: for what cause, gesse you? I if you knew as much as I knowe, you would fweare, not for lack of honestie, or because he was vnthristie. But wil you knowe whie? he had not the hundreds lying by him, as the reporte went shee had left her, and therefore shee thought it needeles any one should lose so much labour, as to fulfill her promise in carrying his answere. Yet, if that were all, it were well; I, and it had been well for him (for the fauing of shoo lether) if she would have fpoken with him at his comming to fetche it: But my widdowe would not be within, or elfe she was busie; and thus was his kindenes

[z sig. D]

requited. Now, fie of the diuell! is this a meete reward for affection? nay, suppose it be no more, the good will, was it well requited? thinkes that if his dog had come, hee deferued better entertainement then to have been beaten away; and shee had dealt better if shee had fent himselfe away with a crabbed answere, then so vnmannerly to vfe him by fleeueles excufes. And well it were if fhee had no more fellowes; but out vpon them! there are too many fuch, whose cove nicenes expresse their mischieuous fondenes; for, speake they will with any man that come, vnles a Herald fore runnes the fewtor.

In my opinion, and it shall bee grounded vpon reason, such widdowes are worthie to fit while their breeches growe to their feates, as refuse to answer all commers of what degree soeuer; and because I promift you reason, this shall be it. Who knowes not, that whosoeuer fues for the like match, winneth a thousand incombrances with his good speede? for he that knowes not that care shal be mingled with his best contentment, shall fall into a pitte before he be ware of And who, were it not for his foules health, would imbrace fuch an inconvenience for a little commoditie? I, and the best mariage is but a little commoditie, in respect of the continuall carking that comes with it. If, then,—as who faies it is otherwise?—a man makes fo great fuite for fo fmall hearts ease (respecting the earthly pleasure), deferues not he a good countenance, or at least a welcome, that longs for fo bad a bargaine? In my iudgement, 1 and it shall iumpe with [1 sig. D. back] mine opinion, that woman is much more beholden to the man that would match with her, then to her parents that haue brought her vp; for they did what ere they did, of duety, & this doth what might be vndone, of mere deuotion. Why, thinke the best you can, thinke for your felues: fuppose one that hath nothing, comes to craue your loue: did he only respect your wealth, without his owne welfare (and hee that thinkes to have welfare without dealing wel with you, he reckens without his hofteffe, and shal finde a new bil of charges), had he not much better to hazfard the taking of a purfe by the high way? Yes, doubtles; for were hee by that means brought vnto miserie, he might haue death at his cal, to rid him from extremitie; but now being grieued vnceffantly, he may feeke for death, but meete with the diuell; hope for an ende, but feele the want of it con-

tinually. Yet come we to one further point: imagine fome men that bee ouer-unruly, defire to have accesse into your companie: if you knowe them for fuch companions, I would holde you vnwise to admit them into your presence; but shall your hart but say, I suspect without trial, you cannot out-runne the crime of want of descretion. It is best, therefore, you that feare such resorte, to harbour your felues, during the time of the heate of the market, in fuch places as the countenances of your protectors shall preuent suspect, and disparage the practife of fuch vndecent behauiour; or otherwife, to appropriate vnto your houses such helpes as shall bee likely to forestall the like mischiefe. That euery one may bee answered, is Honesties meaning; for vales they bee, they have not their due, nor doo you shewe your selues to be inriched with that curtesie which widdowes descretion dooth challenge. For, let me tell you, and enfure as many as knowe it not, that a man shall finde more pleasure in lying in the campe, being dayly threatned with the bullets of his enemie, then in lodging with a wife, vnles his wisdome be the greater. And I knowe you looke for my reason: then for this [1 sig. D 2] cause, for that their vnconstancie 1 breedes more seare then the shot brings hurt; and their tender heart will craue more gouernement to content them, then the other will aske forecast to preuent the danger they bring with them. For a fteele coate refiftes the harme of a musket; but what garment shall out stand her threatning of the horne? That man amongst Souldiers is counted accurst that is ftrucken with a great shot; and that husband thrife blest among married men, that is not continually wounded with some misdemeanor or other he shall espie in his wife; well, I say no more, because I am a batcheler; but Honeslie must speake the trueth, or shame will follow him.

> It is wisdome to looke before lepping, but extreame follie to stand vpon nothing; hee or fhee that makes many doubtes, thall neuer want care; and she wil il rule a charge, that cannot charme a knaue. Speake the diuell faire, and he will be fatisfied; and what woman knowes not how to flatter? It is good to knowe vice, that we may fhun that euill; and as good to trie the honestie of wooers, that you may not speede the worse. You shall often finde a kings heart clad in a thred-bare coate, and a fenators wisdome harbored in a youthfull

head; vertue goes not by birth, nor descretion by yeares, for there are olde fooles and young councellers, counterfeit knaues & crabbed churles, the one being clad in a lambes skinne, and the other kept warme with Foxe furre. Nature makes, but fortune clothes; a ritch knaue therefore may march in the habit of a true meaning gentleman, when poore Honestie must goe as he is able, bee it in a mouldie caffock. I have heard it credibly reported, that there was a ritch widdowe fell here in England, which had left her living enough to maintaine a younger brother; and vnto her did reforte fuch an one, as had not fildome flung out at a bootie, nor would have cared much if it had been his father, fo he had met him in a convenient place. This young gentleman (yet not very young, for he was about fortie) came vnto this widdowe, to craue her good wil, vfing as speedie tearmes as he 1 defired quicke speede. Hee tolde her his name, so [r sig D 2, back] well knowne throughout the countrie for a shifting liuer, as he spake no fooner then hee was well knowne vnto hir. Whome she vsed courteoufly, answering him after this order: 'I hope, gentle fir (quoth she), you will give me leave to answer you as speedely as you bluntly aske the question.' 'And with all my heart (replied hee), for that is my defire.' 'Then affure you thus much (faid she), that if there were no more men in the world befides your felfe, I would not marrie with you.' 'A fhort and fower answere (quoth he); yet let mee affure you, that onely fuch an one (naming himfelfe) will have you,' and fo tooke his leaue, departing in as good order as shee had in kinde manner vsed him. Shortly after, at a meeting with many of his companions, he craued their aide, finding them as forward to performe any thing hee should require, as hee would wish. Vnto whome hee shewed his whole intention, the rather desiring their helpes, for that they had been partners with him in as great hazards; well agreed vppon the match, they rode towards the widdowes house, comming thither in the euening about supper-time, when it was very darke, whereby their companie coulde not bee descried. knockte at the gate, and was answered by the porter, that being asked who was within, certified them according to his knowledge. they so hampered, as gagde hee was and bound, being laide forth of the way; which done, they passed further, entring the hall with their drawne fwordes, where they found all the feruants at Supper. They

had no weapons neere them but bones, being vnmeete inftruements to refift armed men; and dogges, they were not to be wonne by fuch Therefore, eafily one by one they were bound and laide on a heape; the wooer in the meane time, with two of his mates, being in the Parlor with the widdowe that was garded with two futors, being Gentlemen of account in that Country, he vnmasked himselfe, for [1 sig. D $_{3}$] they had al vifards, and tolde the widdow he was 1 come for her : at what time one of them grewe cholerick, and I thinke it was he that was likest to have sped best, for he was placed on the benche necrest to her hart, and drew his poyniard, the best weapon he had at that inftant, making as if he meant to darte the fame; but vpon better confideration had, he put vp his Dagger, and was contented to be bound with his fellowe. All of them being bound, they got the Widowe foorth, and bound her with a towel behinde one of them, having before their departure hid all the Saddles, and turned forth the Horses out from the house. Ouer a long plaine they rode, & so through a wood, where, being out of greatest danger, he himselse, the wooer, got vp before the widdowe, entreating her to confider of their estates, not so much he himselfe respecting his own weale, as he regarded his freends welfare, whome he had drawen into that desperate action. But it was all in vaine, for agree the would not; the fware rather to dye then to confent, which feemed little to remedie his affection. Wel, in flort time they were come to a place prepared for the nonce, where they found a good fire with a Parfon, and other good company affembled together about the fame matter. It was a wonderfull rainie euening, fo that all of them were throughly wet; but there the wanted nothing the could defire, nor spared he kinde words to winne her good will, which was fo long in graunting, as before the obtaining of it, Hue and cry was followed into that Towne. Whereof he, having notice, came to her with his last hope, willing her, that as the was a woman, either then or neuer to confent to the fauing of all their lines. When the, feeing no remedy, but either she must relent, or they repent it: 'will you (quoth she) be good to my boy Tom?' for the had one onely childe called Thomas. 'To fay I would (replyed he), in this extremitie, might be faide to be but flatteric, but affure thy felfe I will, and much better then I will boaft on; 'vpon which agreement, they were foorthwith maried.

Soone after he called her aside, and tolde her she was now his wife. whose credit was her good regarde: 'we 1 shal, I know (quoth he), be [z sig, D 3, brought for this before the counsel, at which time, vnlesse you vse the matter thus cunninglye, as to affirme this was your owne practife, to shewe your loue, and shun a bad reporte, we shall, notwithstanding, fmart for it.' Which she promised to doo, and did indeede no lesse, all them being shortly after apprehended, and brought vp to answere it at the counsell Table, where she tolde so good a tale for him and his fellowes to the effect aforesaide, as the faulte was remitted, and they discharged. Now, that you may vnderstand how well he requited this her kindnes, she liued with him a long time, and yet lesse then a dosen yeeres; and dying, left this good reporte of his vsage towards her: namely, that neuer woman liued with a more kinde man then she had found him, with other such probable tokens or the certainty thereof, as a Countrie can witnes the same. Him selfe liued not long after her, at his death leauing her sonne Thomas fiue hundred pounds by the yeere, ouer and aboue his own Fathers liuing, which he himfelfe had purchased by his good husbandrie.

What fay you to this vnthrifte? was not she put to a shrewde triall? fhe was, and it proued paffing wel. Wherfore, then, should yonger brothers be rejected, or why they that have little, be vnregarded? furely, because the hart is couetous and mistrustfull, and womens mindes are afpiring, being neuer contented. They fo much thirfte after preferment, as often they ouer-leape amendement, and iumpe iust into a worser predicament.

Many looke fo long for aboundance of mucke, as 2 they fall into [2 orig. as as] a quagmire of miferies, having filter to looke on, though wanting mony to fupply many wants; having a faire shewe and a shrewde keeper, one that hath more then enough, & yet will not part with any thing: Honestie knowes many of these, and they feele more then I can tell you. Who goes, for the most parte, worse shod then the Shoomakers childe? and who hath leffe money in her purffe, then fhe whose Husband hath most in his cheft? 3 But, for that I am some-[3 leaf D 4] what straied out of my way, I will return to my first widdowe before my shooes be quite worne: My forenamed Bacheler, that neither by himselfe or his freends could speake with her to know her answer. deuised this conclusion, to fend her a Letter by a freend, not so much

for the matter there in fet downe, as that that might be a meane to entice her to be spoken with, which, indeede, proued to some purpose. For to the Messenger she came, and after notice given from whome the Letter was sent: 'gods Lord (quoth she), did not my freend giue him his answere?' 'No,' replyed the Messenger; 'for he craues no more by this Letter.' 'Surely (quoth she), I thanke him for his good will, but I am not minded that way.' 'What way? (replyed he), not to marry?' 'Yes,' faide she, 'but not with one so yong.' Now you shall vnderstand her simple excuse, cleanly made; for in a mans judgement it would not be thought there was much difference betweene their ages. And, as it was gathered after, the meant one way, and the Meffenger tooke it an other; for the meant yong in fubftance, though he vnderstood it for yeers; as, after further talk, the plainely expressed. What shall Honestie say more of her? in footh, nothing, but to pray, either for the amendement of her and her companions, or else that this punishment may be inflicted upon them; that is to fay, that they may be fo haunted, vntill they deale better, as they may not peepe foorth of their houses, without as much wondermen[t] as the Owle hath that flieth in the day time. And doo they deserve lesse that make fooles? it hath beene a fustie saying, Qui moccat moccabitur, and, vntill that proue true by practice, as it falles out true often vnlookte for, we that are to speed shall neuer finde better. If all men will agree to Honeflie, we wil keepe a Cronicle of fuch wenches; my felfe will be fpeak the registreship, and though it be no great office, yet it may doo much good. But now to a fourth kinde.

[r leaf D 4, back] Which were a thrife-made, not a threed-bare Widdower, and a fine times left Widdowe, both of them being fo much in Fortunes bookes, as they were endowed with the ¹ thousands. They soone agreed vpon the matter, and within a shorte time were married; vnto whose house, having heard them boast of their substance, I often resorted to see what good cheere they kept; I was twise there together in Christmas time, but neuer could see hotte meate, yet good store of cold, by reason they had had soure daies before many guests. But since the holly dayes, hoping for hotter fare, I sound him and she set at a couple of red Herring & a slice of barrel butter: colde fare, as I thought, for a tuesday supper. Alas! how were the servants dieted,

when they had no better? I would have thought the faulte to haue beene in her, vntill she saide vnto me, that she was forrye she had no better fare for Honestie; when the olde Churle replied, 'holde thee content, wife; he is welcome, I thanke God I have this for him!' 'I thanke your worship,' faide I; though I thought, 'I beshrewe the Churles hart!' But there of force must I lodge too, for that I had ouer farre home, and he that had fedde me fo hungerly, had found talke enough to keepe me with him till midnight. confesse I lay better then I had supped; lodgde in the next Chamber to themselues, there being nothing but a thinne wall betweene vs. After my first sleepe, I heard them two very lowde, and though I did not greatly defire to be a partaker of their fecret, yet I could not choose, vnles I had beene either naturally or artificially deafe. They were at fo hotte words, as he cryed, 'out vpon thee, old beggarly whore!' with other most shamefull tearmes; she therby being forced thus to complaine: 'Alas, that euer I was borne to see your face; I was no begger when I met with you, for I brought with me as good as twentie thousand pounds, which now being at your disposition, you deale thus crabbedly with me; meeting together in respect but yesterday, what hope resteth to me of the end, seeing the beginning is fo bad? you diet me with hardmeat, and cheer me with crabbed vfage; I can neither haue a penny in my pursse, nor a good shooe to my foote. I greeue to heare my feruants repine thereat, though I cannot amend it, and I for that I tell you of it which may redreffe it, [* sig. E] thus you reuile me.' 'Holde thy peace, olde whore (quoth he), or I will make thee; if they like it not, let them mend theirfelues, and either charme your toung, or I will clapperclaw your bones;' with which cooling carde, she was glad to be quiet, as I gesse, for I could heare no more of her at that time.

Now, Honefile, having leafure to thinke of what he had heard, fill harpt of the twentie thousand pounds, which, as I thought, was meeter to have made a King, then to have pleased a churle; with that I condemned his cruelty, and pitied her chaunce, so long thinking on her hard fortune, as I sell a sleepe, taking vp the remnant of my mornings nap. Well, before I rose, my olde carle was vp, and before I was ready, gone abroad; when suddenly comming foorth of my lodging, forced to passe through his Chamber, I found the good olde

woman shedding teares so aboundantly, as I could not but greeue for company. But, feeing me, she rowzed vp her selfe, and would haue shadowed her discontent; yet, at last, assured I had heard the iarre, she faide fine was forrie I had beene disquieted; the which I excused, faying, 'I was more greeued for her then for my disquieting, for had that beene the worst, Honestie hath beene farre woorse troubled.' 'Ah, good fir (quoth she), this is their fortune that are couetous; for I had enough left me to haue liued like a woman, if I could haue been fo contented; but aiming at dignitie, hath been my destruction, and longing after promotion hath brought me to this miferie; my last Husband was accounted a good housholder, and companion to the best in the parish; but he being gone, and my hope to become a Lady, hath ledde me to this ill bargaine. Ah, gentle Honestie, I was no meane woman when I met with him, but he thinkes, for that I haue turned my Cloth to filke, he hath made me happie. How happie had I beene, if I had neuer seene him; but too late it is to wish, and folly to complaine, for that it was my owne choice that hath matcht my felfe with fuch a churle. He clothes me in gay ¹ coates for his owne credit, but with them cloyes me with multitudes of discontentments; abroad he is gone, and perchaunce I shall not see him till bed time; nor are fuch trickes plaide feldome, when he leaues nothing, what need foeuer we should have of any thing, but what the houshold prouision is, the best being no better then your yesternights fare. If he brings any bodie home with him, we must run to the Cookes to faue fiering; nor can a bit of bread be eaten without an account giuen to him; he fearcheth euery corner, & chides for euery candles end he findes misplaced; and if, perchaunce, he happe on a crust, he will make as much stirre as if it were the losse of a Cow; he will prie into the greace pot, and hunt after the Tappe droppings: to be breefe, the creame pot should be ouerlooked by him euery day, once at the leaft, and his fiering furueied as often; a Cheese cannot be cut without his leave, nor a sticke be burned without grutching. Nor doo I fo much greeue at this in respect of my felfe, as for that my feruants want their due, their want being more irkesome vnto me, then this scant; for what will they let to reporte? and who can blame them? or who will staye in such an house, and not without reason? so that dayly discredit is heaped on vs, and con-

sig. E, ack]

tinuall care for looking after new feruants, neuer from vs. This is my greatest hart breake; and my sute to have this redressed, is our only breake-peace. He sumes when I informe him of what I have heard, and stampes when I tell him it is not well; nor wil I tel thee all, for that this is too much, nor shouldst thou have knowne of thus much for me, except his crabbednes had made the path. But, hark! he is come in; for the passion of God, hide thy selfe! for if he should know thou wert not gon, he will mistrust vs, and smart I shall for vs both.'

Now, the Diuell breake his necke, or God amend him, thoght I; yet, for feare of her harm, I was content to be lockt vp by her into a closet, where I was constraind to stay, while the teeth chattered in my head, before we could be rid of him. Well, at last, by good fortune, a companion of his fetcht him 1 forth to dinner, who, being [1 sig. E 2] gone, I was let forth, an extraordinary fier being made for my welcome down; & to make me a mends, she had fent a bracelet she had, of which he knew not, to paune, prouiding fo good fare for my Dinner, as I was not at better all the Christmas. But while we were eating of it, our mirth could not be much, her feare was fo great of his comming home; but we, making as quick speede as our teeth would let vs, after we had doone, I thanked her, taking my leaue and departing. Wel, my backe was fcarce turnde, when she bid her men and maids to bestirre them, that the kitchen might be drest vp, and the remnant of our Christmas fire to be quencht and cast into the privile, least his fearch should finde out the brandes, and that breede no little disquietnes to them all. Alas! poore wretch, thought I, how much feruants are there which liue at more ease, and stand in leffe awe, then thou dooft! Is this a wives portion? doubtles, no; but a iust plague for couetousnes; for they which cannot vse a benefite when they have it to a good purpose, shall want it when they would, and feeke it when they cannot finde it. Couetouines shall not escape hell; for how farre, I pray you, was she from it? her good daies died with her matching with him; and if there be any purgatory betweene vs and hell, she was in it, and thereby at the next doore to that dungeon. I would but all couetous mindes were plagued but with a dramme of the like discontent; I would have theirs but a seauennights punishment, whereas the must endure, peraduenture, seauen

yeeres torment. Honestie thinkes such a messe of miserie would bring them to a banquet of happines at their deliuerie from that wretched-If many of our coye dames, that cannot be content with any thing, and are fo curious, as daily dainties feeme nothing vnto them, were but pincht a while with her morfelles, I am perswaded it would faue their husbands a great deale of charges in their diet thence after, and would make their feruants much happier, by being freed from much needeles labour. Their houses would be pulled downe, and the 1delight of their curious poked ruffes would be fet afide; they would not respect the superfluous dishes they vse, nor regarde their superstitious curiositie in rubbing the slowres of their houses: what fhould I fay more? they would vse obedience towards their Husbands more, and brawling with their feruants leffe, they would thinke of their owne happie liues, & pittie others: they would feeke to pleafe, and be more eafily pleafed; they would liue contentedly, and be thankfull for fo great prosperitie.

The fishe that hath beene stricken with the hook, seares the baite; the childe that hath burnte his fingers, dreades the candle; the horse that hath beene punished with the spurre, suspects the wagging of the heele; and the apprehended theefe begins to thinke on the halter. What delight brings fweete things vnto them that neuer tafted of fharp fauce? or, what an indifferent opinion carrie they of prosperitie, that have never beene in miferie? The vnridden Colte bites the fnaffle, while the olde horse is glad to play with the bit; and they that are vsed to shackles, weare them without much annoiance; for that it is vie that gets experience, and experience that brings profit. When a curft Cow hath fhort hornes, harme is leffe fuspected; and if a crabbed cur be musled, there can be no danger. There are both baites to entice, and bobbes to make to forbeare; allurements to winne, and corrections to drive away; and he that thought this to be needefull, knowes best to vse it, which happens alwaies to vnbrideled nouices, once good speede egges vs to a second aduenture; and, it twife a theefe hath escaped the halter, he will neuer leaue vntill he purchase tiborne. 'My last Husband was so good,' makes some so defirous of a fecond, as their haftie bargaine bringes ouerlate repentance. 'Like will to like,' quoth the Diuell to the Collier, and fome will neuer be fatisfied vntill their mouthes be filled

sig. E 2, ick]

with Clay. He that hath enough, feekes for more, and fo I carrie a great countenance, I care not how I am beloued. Indeede, what cannot money doo, that will buye any thing? and yet honestie will purchase that 1 which all the muck in the world cannot compasse, [1 sig. E 3] namely, a good report for euer. Who knowes not that the couetous man cannot liue quietly? and why wil we not knowe that the aspiring minde shall be brought lowe? The loue of your wealth is in your owne hands, but the key of your wittes kept by a higher guide. You may chose a ritch man, and hunt after an honest (yet ritches and honestie goe fildome together), but to fay it shall be for your weale, must craue anothers leaue. Hee that gives all things, can give thee both; and if thou wilt taste of his liberalitie, built on his charitie, suspect not, and speede well, feare, and speede ill; let therefore all thy care be built on his kindenes, and thou wilt be better contented with a kinde begger then a crabbed churle. To take heede by another mans harme, is a louing warning; but if thou wilt needes try, take the hazard. When our neighbours house is on fier, we have neede to bestirre vs; and he that fits still at such an extremetie, is worthie to tafte of the like miferie. To looke ere we lep is good counfell, yet, to looke hartely, and lep faintly, makes many to fall into a ditch dangerously; well, a word to a wife man is enough, and there are few women but haue flore of wit, if they adde difcretion vnto it. Honestie, therfore, wishes them to vse it so well, as they neuer speede ill.

A fift forte now followeth, which was a couple standing in the midst of the company, both of them being of equal yeares. He was a young civil gentleman, no lesse proper then hee seemed wise, his discreet government beautifying both; but she, though shee had wit at will, and was very proper, yet lacked shee the other step to wisdome, namely, discreetenes in her behavior. Her immodest fondnes gave suspect of variable lightnes, so that her overforwardnes seemed to overlay her lovers affection. Shee would hang about his neck before all that company, as a tacke of Napes doth sitting on the bearheards shoulder, and kisse a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his slieve. He could not stirre without him as if pinned to make water, but she would awaite on him. Thus

much did she not let to doe openly, and therefore I had the more desire to see how she spent her time secretly, which was as contrarie as might bee; for whereas she would bee mad merrie in his company, in his absence she would be as mad melancholie. Shee then would sit in a corner, as a dogge doth that is crept into a hole, having done a shroude turne, wetting her couch with teares for the lack of her sweet heart, as a childe doth the bed for want of a chamber-pot. But, being in a good vaine, shee would pen passionate sonnets, and, in that humor did I once take her, when she had newly sinished this amorous dittie:

S Ad is the time while my deare love is absent;

Eise waile my misse, and tongue bewailes him wanting;

Heart bleedeth teares that doo encrease my torment,

And yeelds forth sighes which set it selfe a panting;

While he is absent, such is my delight,

As is the saylers in a stormie night.

If I chaunce fing, with fighes my fongs be graced, And in my tunes, my grones my baces be; Grieuous complaints are for the trebles placed; The meanes be teares, the tennor miscrie. Foure partes I beare, and want the fifte alone, Which is my iouse that with my love is gone.

When I should speake, my tongue forgets it talking; When I should write, my fingers are benommed; When I should goe, my feete have lost their walking, And every part is dead, of sence bereaved: Nor can I tell what is the cause of this, Except because my heart with him gon is.

And meriest songs are plaintes for ioy departed;

My mirth is mone, my sorrowe succor wanting,
And sences gon, my bodie have vuharted:

So that I live alive, as being dead,
And by his absence sole, this death is bread.

Thus dayes are nights to me, while he is wanting,

¹ leaf E 4]

After the felfesame order spends shee her well spent time, yeelding

fuch bitter fighes, while she is fetting down the like passions, as a horse doth hartie neeses, that is troubled with an extreame colde. Then, paufing a while on that fhe hath done, weighing the estate of her lamentable case, shee castes her selfe vpon hir bed, breathing against the fates the rancor of her heart, after this manner: 'Vniust and cruell fifters, that have prolonged my dayes to endure this miferie; is this the force of your decree, to decrease my joy by increasing my dayes? Haue you drawne to this length the thread of my life, now to cut the fame with fo sharpe an edge-toole? Cruell and vnkinde are ye, fo crabbedly to deale with a poore virgin, fuffering me to liue to endure this crueltie.' There, making a full point, would she lie gasping as if she were giving vp the Ghost; till at length, having gathered winde, shee would thus begin to murmur against Fortune: 'Vnconftant dame, fo much delighting in mutabilitie, as all thy ioye is to alter chances! How wavering is thy wheele, and how vncertaine thy fauours! the one still turning, and the other neuer remaining long, where fo ere they are bestowed. Was this the pittie of your heart, to fet downe fo vnmercifull a doome, as I should alwaies rest vnhappie? You whirle your wheele about to please your felfe with the turning, toffing thereby vnto me one miferie vpon another; then eafing me of that burthen, to make the next feeme more displeasing vnto me; thou shewes me my harts ioye, and sets me on the top of delight, to beholde the difference betweene weale and woe. But, from thence thou throwest me as quickly downe, as I was joyfully feated, letting thy wheele reft as ouerlong, while I lie in the dungeon of vnceafing paine, as it did too too little ftay at the [r leaf E 4. ¹ height of my pleafure. Thou gives me kinde words and cruell fare, happie fightes and horrible heart-akes; thou shewes me rest, and fees me with trouble, fetting me at the table of dainties, yet binding my hands least I should touch them, so far am I from tasting of their fweetnes. Vnkinde and vnconftant fortune, what chance had mankinde to be charmed to thy beck? and, wherein are we more vnfortunate, then in being forced to obay fortune?' To which interrogation, her felfe would answere with a flat mad fit; curfing her parents that begot her; her birth day wherein shee was brought forth; the nurse that gaue her sucke; the cradle that lulled her asleepe; death, for that hee ended not her dayes; and her felfe, for that she

was. Now tearde she her haire from her head; anon she vnapparelled her selfe to hir smooke; then, like a spirit would shee daunce the Morrice about the chamber, and soone sossing her selfe downe by the fiers side, sit no les senceles then her actions had been witlesse, a long time resting as in a traunce. But, at last, as ouerlate comming to her selfe, shee would, looking on her selfe, seeme to bee asraide of her selfe; sorrowfull to see the fruite of her forsaken reason; and rising, would soone make her readie. Being readie, shee sell vpon her knees, crying the Gods mercie, and powring forth aboundance of teares, in token of her penitencie. And after that, being indeede in her rightest minde, shee tooke her lute, singing to her singering this sonnet:

Hat booteth love, that liking wants his ioye?
Grievous that ioy which lackes his hearts-content;
The fight of sweete in tasting of anoy,
Ads but more griefe to former hearts-torment.

What fiveet in love to live debarr'd of love? Soure is that fiveete as honny mixt with gall; Love with vnrest the heart to passions move, That sighing sing, and singing sigh withall.

¹While eyes beholde the pleasure of my heart, Heart ioyes through eyes in gayning of that fight; But when that pleasure from mine eyes doth part, Heart partes with ioy, and ress in heavie plight.

And tongue may fing a hei ho for my heart,

That through mine eyes doth finde both ioy and fmart.

Which musick would bee so metamorphosed, as, in truth, her singing would turne to sighing, and her playing to complaining, when, in a rage, she would throwe her lute downe, beginning to dilate on her loues vnkindnes, that could be so cruell to stay soure and twentie houres from her. Now, sound she fault with her selfe for being so fond on him, that sorbeared so careless her companie; and, by and by, in a great rage swearing to forsake him, she settled her selfe to frame a rayling letter for a last farewell. But, before shee had scarce written an vnkinde worde, she paused on the matter, casting both pen,

g. F]

inke, and paper from her; yet, vpon her fecond aduice, about she goes with a fresh charge to pen a crabbed charme, and had gone so farre as fhe had fet downe, Fie, vnkinde wretch! And there, againe, in a doubt of going forward, or leaving the rest vndone, shee gnawed so long vpon her pen in studying what to doe, as she had eaten it almost quite vp. But, at last, with a resolution, she played the woman, falling into fo kinde a vaine of fcoulding, as she had charged him with a thousand discourtesies for missing one nights resorte vnto her. And, as fhe was concluding her colour, with a protestation neuer to defire to fee his face againe, in came one of her fifters with newes that Mafter Anthony was belowe. Which fo quite purged her of her melancholie, as in a rage she rent the paper, and cast all her anger with it into the fier, posting with fuch haste to her sweete-heart, as in ftead of running downe, she tumbled downe a whole paire of stayres. Which bad beginning was carelefly put ouer with the conceiued ioy of his presence; shee entertaining $^{\rm I}$ him with a kisse, for that he was ${\rm p}$ sig. ${\rm F}$ not forward enough to bestowe on her the like fauour. But ere long, flee began to perceaue that Master Anthonie was changed, being nothing fo frolick of his kindnes as hee had been, and it was no maruel. For fome reporte of her fore-used fondnes was come to his eares, that being no small frost to nip his former affection; so that his onely comming was to make that conclusion she was of late imagining, foone finishing in wife and discreet tearmes that her sufpect was penning. Vpon whose departure, with the paune left of his refolution, my minion fel into a found, there being fuch a stirre for her recouerie, as what for running for aqua vita, posting for ale, plying warme cloathes, and fuch like, there was no leffe rule then is in a tauerne of great reforte. 'Here, forfooth,' faith she that had the aqua, 'come quickly;' 'By and by,' answered shee, being called that went for the ale; the rest no other wise replying to euery question and commaunde. Well, at length life was got in her; though no words could bee drawne from her; but, being got to bed, she song ere long like a bird of Bedlam.

In which fit I left her, more pittying her peeuishnes then her passions; the rather lesse regarding either, for that I knew that violent fit would not fray long. But, to tell you what Honestie thought all this while, for I knowe that is your longing; and, if you

sig. F 2]

beshrowe any body, blame her for not letting you have your will fooner, by keeping me fo long there against my will. For vnwilling I was to ftay there so long, and as loath to leave her before shee had left at a full point. That you might know all, was my wish; and fince I have mine now, you shall not bee long without your wil. She neuer fighed hartely, but I laught as merely, being as often readie to piffe my breeche for ioye, as she was to shed teares, which came from her as had at commandement. And, wherefore was Honestie thus vncharitable, thinke you, reioycing at his neighbours miserie? Surely, because her selfe was so foolish to bee so disquietly moued with nut-shels: would it not have made a 1 horse breake his halter, to fee her mumble to her felfe as an ape mowes at his own fhaddow? Doubtles,-may I speake it without the suspect of arrogancy?—Honestie hath as much holde of his civilitie, as a mare hath of her honestie; and yet, I might as well be hanged as be kept from being merry when she mourned. A Camelion cannot change her felfe into more kinde of colours then shee would vse change of motions. Sometimes shee would walke with her hands clasped, and her eyes cast vp to heauen, as if shee were sent for, with all speede to render an account of her passions. Anon, she would runne about the chamber like a hare that had loft her way; then, by and by, would fhe houle like a kinde dogge that had loft her mafter. After that, girne like a Monkie that fees her dinner; and ere long be as dead as a dore naile, lying by the fier fide as a block doth at the backe of a chimney. And this last finile proues not worst, for she burned no leffe through the cinders of too kinde affection, then the logge dooth with the helpe of charke-coles.

Was not this a monstrous fit, that had so many motions? Why, if *Honestie* should tell you how shee would sometimes bite of her owne nailes, knocking the wall with her feete, praunsing on the ground, and lepping of and on the bed, you would thinke hee had to doe with an vnruly iade. Fie, no, she was a mankinde creature! and I would not offend them for a kingdome; but this *Honestie* is such a pestilent spie-fault, as he cannot see a wench out-start the bounds of modestie, but straight he hollowes the sight of a striker, thinking it vnpossible that if shee want maidenly behauiour, shee can have womanly honestie. Well, I knowe some will say hee is a pick-

thanke; but were not they shonne-thankes, they would speake better of Honesties fonne. But thus much for Honesties credit; and now, againe to my cract-loue, that had crauled fo farre into affections extremitie, as the had loft the habit of her customers curtesie. I went once more of deuotion to fee her, because I left her in so extreame an agonie, and it was within two dayes after; Whome then I [rsig.F2, back] found clasped within a new louers pawes, as iocunde with him of mine honestie, as euer I sawe her pleasant with Master Anthonie. And what thought Honestie, then, thinke you? in faith, no otherwise then I am affured you doe now. I thought vpon fuch fondnes the prouerbe was builded, 'hot loue wil be foone colde;' but enough of that in another place, and thus much more of her at this time.

She was as glad, I warrant you, of a louer, as a weried iade is of a faire way; and he, being tyred, is not more glad of a stable, then she was defirous of a babell; it is onely for rime at this inftant, and therefore let it passe (I pray you) with your fauour; but, whether it doth or no, I beforewe my name if I get any blame. For my tongue will not amble out of the trueth, though I should digge out my guttes with the Spurre, 'Beware leaft you offend.' There is one still at mine elbowe, and fayes I must take heede how I dissemble, fince Honestie is become a deitie. I would I were not, or went not fo vnuifible: for then I should not craule so easily into maydens chambers, and heare them boaste of so many fauours bestowed by them on this day; so many kiffes given to one; another vnloofing her garter, yea, and she thought hee went not high enough. Well, but that I am mercifull, and will not name you that are so immodest as to boast of such lightnes, for if I should, I should quite fray away many of M. Anthonies companions from bestowing their affections on so liberall whipsters. But I saye no more, for shame, hoping I shall have no cause to speake of the like againe, you will become so civill; then, thus much for you, and now to another.

This way a coy dame, whose nice strangenes moued me not to the least admiration; she stoode iust at the doore, to whom not so few as twenty had in my veine made fuite. They were of fundrie fciences, and of all degrees, that had tooke the deniall of her, which made mee the rather to admire the cause; and, to obtain mmy longing, I lodged my 2 felfe that night vnder her bed. When the was layed, and one of [2 sig. F 3]

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her mothers maides with her, shee began thus to parly: 'Wot you what, Nan (quoth she), how many futors thinkes thou have I sent packing to daye?' 'Not fo many (answered the maide) as you did the last time you were there.' 'Yes, faith, girle, double' (replied she). 'And found you so many faultes in these (quoth Nan) as you did in the other?' 'Nay, I trow, wench (answered she), I let not them paffe in whom I discouer not many ouer-slippes.' 'And what were their faults, I pray you?' quoth the girle. 'Some of them had ftore of wealth (answered she), but little honestie; other were honest enough, but too too hard fauoured; fome had good faces and bad bodies; other being proper, had crabbed countenances; fome were amiable for fauour, perfect of bodie, yet ill legged; other, which were well legde, shaled with their feete, or were splasooted; and, to be briefe, they that trode right, were either clouterly caulfed, tree like fet, spindle fhankte, or bakerly kneed; onely there were two exquifitely fhapte, whereof one was too tall, and the other too too lowe. Thus much for their parts, and now to their properties.

'They that were wealthy were meanely qualited, and they that had many good properties were moniles; fome had good toungs, and fpake well, having as ill gestures; others were rich and seemed wise; those I suspected to be wenchers. And, to make as shorte woorke in telling thee of them, as I made speedie haste in sending them packing, either I mislikte their estates, scorned their personages, lothed their want of qualities, or could not away with their kinde of wooing.' 'But shal I be so bolde (quoth Nan) to aske you one more question?' 'I, twentie, and thou wilt; for, in faith, I have no lift to fleepe.' 'In footh forfooth, then (quoth the girle), what manner of man shall he be with whom you will match?' 'Mary, fuch a one (answered she) as shalbe the onely matchles creature in the worlde.' 'But how will you meete with him?' replyed Nan. 'As he shall light vpon me by Fortune.' 'But Fortune is blinde (quoth 1 the wench), and may lead him to another in steade of you.' 'Yet, as she is blinde (replyed the other), fo is the a Goddesse, a good supporter of my chaunces; and I know my reporte is fet so neere her elbowe, as the cannot forget me if fhe would.'

r sig. F 3, pack]

I, marry, firs, you talk of a wench, and what w[o]ts this of a proud one? is it not great pittic but nature should have compassion on this

neate creature, and shape for her a mirrour of meane worth? Now, of my troth, Honeflie likes fuch an one; and why, thinke you? I will tell you my reason, and if it iumpes with your conceite, say you mette with a kill Crowe. I am affured that they that are of my minde shall escape a great deale of trouble; for, of mine honestie, if I should light on fuch an one, I know certainely I should be quickly rid of a neere mishap, in being preuented of matching with a nice ninnie by a nice body; for not being the paragon of the worlde, would keepe me from marrying with the onely paltrie one of the worlde; whether, then, thinke you fuch to be profitable members of a common wealth? Howfoeuer you think, Honestie hath faid, he thinks them hurtfull to none that escape them, for that their folly onely hurtes themselues, dooing good to others, in the like manner as he hath tolde you. Trot you, and you will, to trye your Fortune, and runne to wooe fuch curious customers; but say I bid you take heede, least you resist good lucke, by being importunate to wooe them, with whome you shall winne a maffe of manner-les Monkish trickes. And I speak especially to you, that hunt after monsters of modestie, desiring to have the maidens you would matche with, as very matrones as your mothers. Beware you light not vpon an ouerwearied, conceipted follom-bird, being one that hath beene so curious to be talkte with of any, as, hauing lived over long without one, is become glad of any. Honeflie knowes fuch, and you may be troubled with fuch, and how can you thinke your felues vnworthie? In faith, ill conceited birds, if you thinke your felues fo vnwife, as you are vnable to gouern a wilde wench, you will 1 shewe your selues more soolish if you match with a nice no-[1 leaf F 4] But what faide Honestie? be there any such? I, that there are, ordained, for the nonce, to nurture fuch noddies. It is as easie to be mislead by hypocrifie, as it is follie to trust to an vncertaintie; and it is more vncertaine to know now a daies whether a woman bee honeftly modest, or knauishly coye, then whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or iadish.

See how I haue a tale by the end, of a ninnie of my now handled maidens qualitie, which was a Mifers Daughter in the low Countries. Who was fo proper a peece of flesh, as I can tell you we haue not many Oyster women that out goes her in hooke shoulders. By reporte she was a louely one; but that she was monstrous blobber

lipt, and stoopt somewhat vnreasonably in the vpper parte of her backfide; but that is no matter, her father was richer then most in that Countrie, and why should not she thinke her selfe the properest of a thousand? of Honesties word, so by likelyhoode she did; and if you fay not fo anon, then fay I have heard a lye. She thought her felfe fo proper, as none vnder a Burges his eldest Sonne might sue vnto her, and he too to be no faultie gallant; for he with all commers should be so furely sisted by her, to see whether they trod their shooes awry or no, as the Miller doth the grift before he mingles chalke amongst it. She would have a sling at their heades, to see whether they were round like a ball, or long like a bottell; and fo from euery parte, til she were past the vndermost parte of their Pantoples. And, in all of them she would be sure to finde some fault or other, the least being a sufficient cause to cut off their proceedings. Thus dealt she so long, as at last her doultish age was vnawares come vpon her, making her fustie curiositie a shamefull mockerie throughout the Countrie; fo that the generall reporte of her bruted ignomynic made her growe glad of any companie; and now faine would she be married, though loth to encrease her shame by matching with farre worse then she had refused being offered, and 1 therefore, thinking to hinder the make-speede of murmured ignominie, with a craftie colour of a continuing care to couple her felfe to one of Fortunes darlings, she concluded there should be a Lotterie, and whose chaunce it was to be drawen by her should onely possesse her withered felf. You must thinke that many were glad to win her; for whom almost will not wealth wooe to a bad bargaine? My storie reportes that of all sortes, fome for pastime, and others for profite, put their scrolles into fortunes budget, and on the day when my minions draft should be manifested, who should have her by lot, but such an one as Tomwitles is, that will cry if one offer to take away his bable!

A futable mate for fo long a fearch; there was but one grand foole in a Country, and fee how Fortune had kept her for him. Now, fuch chaunce follow like curious coye wenches; and may neuer wifer perfons match with them. And are they not, thinke you, the meetest for them? For they defire to have them that have the smallest faults, and *Honestie* thinks it the least fault in a man to be a foole. Who is more proude then a foole? and what woman more

eaf F 4,

coy, for the most parte, then she that hath least reason for it? The Crow likes her own birde best, though it be the blackest; and would not we have women thinke well of them felues? I pray you let them haue their willes; or they will, whether you will or no; and if you like them not, you may leaue them; and with as good reason as they will be fure to deale fo with you, vnlesse you highly please them. The Affe hath a curious eye, and that makes his pace so slowe; for fhort legges will trippe at euery ftone, and what, she is not afraide to fall on a stone! And reason too, but they will neuer be happie, vntill Tom foole and his fellowes be banisht for throwing stones at them, which often hurt their bellies, whereas their falling breakes but their knees. Alas! poore affes, that your eyes cannot keepe you from burthens, as they make you ouer-leape often vnknowne diamondes. But what are more pretious then pleasing thoughts? and what fancies are more full of pleasure then I those that most extoll [* sig. G] our felues? This arrogancie is an infectious pefulence; for we get pride one from an other, as we purchase the plague in a mortalitie. But once more returne we to the merry talke of our coye Maiden.

After a long progresse passed in description of the sweet hart she would have, being such an exquisite proper qualited Squire, as is scarse one in a whole Countrey, the maid fell with her to this point: 'Now, of my troth (quoth she), by your leave, I am not of your minde; for such a matchles fellowe is as meete a baite to entice many women to doo his wife wrong, as a faire woman shall have sutors to doo her Husband a shrewde turne. And, therefore, as I would not with to be matcht with such a crabbed peece of slesh as none can fancie, so desire not I to holde a mark for every one to shoote at, the rather for that there are sewe men which will refuse a kinde offer. Beware when the woman wooes! if she be perceived to be forward to some dispositions, she shall not want the offering of a bob; so that the bobbing bable shall bob the soole with her own curious choice.' Which knauish quip did so nip my Mistres Daughter on the head, as in troth she lest arguing, and fell harde to scolding.

This is bobbing with a witnes, thought *Honeftie*; but furely it were pittie it should not be true in some cases; and in those onely would I wish it true, that striue so far to out-goe their fellowes in superexcellent objectes.

Beware the Foxe that hath the fmoothest skinne! it is signe his coate is olde, and his wit not young; he will be fure of a goofe in store, when many of his neighbours shall want one. I know some, about whome Nature hath bestowed so long time in shaping faire faces with proper bodies, as she hath at last for haste beene constrained to let them passe with vnperfect hartes. She must performe her sliute, and a time is limited her to fashion every childe; by reason, then, they must have the purest harts, that have the valikest shapes. I know what you will fay, and therby, wil onely feeme to gainfay Honeflie, for that it is a Prouerbe, 1 Crooked without, and crabbed within. Of troth, I must confesse, that it is very likely, though not alwaies true (for, no work-man but hath fometimes a mischaunce happen to his most curious worke, after the finishing therof, either by a fall or fuch like cafuall chaunce), that a halting bodie hath a diffembling hart, and a mishapen creature a crabbed disposition; and we doe finde it commonly, that under foulest aspects are hidden the fairest harts, though I know women accompt blacke thinges to be of leaft worth. But fearch againe, and looke what dye is more perfect, or what will take foile fooner, then the milke-like white? well, the maidens proposition pleased Honestie ouerwell, as you may gesse by my long flay vpon it; but I will affure you it displeased no les my yong miftres. Alas! it is a little thing that will not difpleafe them whom nothing can please: and shall we thinke a wench could posfibly please her long, vnto whom so many men were disliking? Now furely he shall have a new accompte, that reckons on lesse then this; namelye, that his matching with fuch a minion, which was fo curious to be pleafed, will craue as great care to be kept pleafed, as a iade will require arte to be kept from tiring. Nor doo I fay the wil be tired; I would rather be driven to affirme he shalbe inded, though with fuch an one as will neuer be tired.

But let fuch as my Mistres Many-mislike is, take heede least by their coye kindenes they kill their harts whome they would gladly faue after, with all their arte, and cannot. How easie is it to put that away with our little finger, which we would willingly recouer againe with both our hands. I have knowen some Faulkoners that have beene so curious in dieting their Hawkes, as a nice curtesan is of her fare; and yet sometimes they have searcht a whole day after the kill-

ing of a carrion Crowe, and mist of it too. The faire lastes not alwaies; and fuch as lightly regarde a good bargaine when it is proffered, may trie the market a twelue moneth after, and miffe of the like offer. The rolling stone gathers no mosse, nor the running fanlcie is worth the catching. They shalbe sure to meete with a fickle [1 sig. G 2] hart that match with fuch a wavering love; and an vnconstant affection is better loft then found. And for that I am entred into the path of vnconftancie, I wil come to a feauenth enemie, which a couple harboured that flood behinde the doore.

He was a Prentice that had foure yeers to ferue, which I certainely vnderstoode afterwards, though at that instant I geste no lesse by his fearefulnes to be seene; wel, these had so wooed and wonne the one the other, as fure they were, having remained fo by the space of three yeers; yet now there was dislike growen betweene them; firste, springing from the woman, that was discontented that the had alreadie loft fo much time, being yet bound to endure a longer stay. Who knowes not the certaintie of her presumption, confirmed by an order of the Cittie of London (which is, that if any man, standing bound for the seruing of yeeres, entangle himselfe and marrie before the tearme of his yeeres ended, he shall double his prentiship), and, therfore, must she either out-stay them, or binde him by the haftie match to feauen yeers more feruice. Vpon this inconvenience, mislike harboured in her bosome, having tied that with her toung which fhe could not loofe with her hands; fo that mad melancholly fhe was for the matche made by her felfe, that tooke so small delight therein.

Now, I would all might be ferued with the fame fauce, thought Honestie, that so soone tying themselves, defire as soone to be loosed; and, it is great maruell when it falles out otherwise, especially in these daies, wherin conftancie is made a hackney. Lingring love breedes mislike; and how can that loue be faithfull that is fastned with so flender a thong? There is a thing which maintaines the coherence of two harts, which, if it be long wanting, our loue will proue but watrish affection; I meane, that certaintie of an euerlasting happines, with an affurance of a continuall earthly pleafure. There comes many faire Horses into Smithfeelde in a twelue moneth, which make many that ² are fped alreadye, to wish themselues vnprouided, to [2 sig. G 2, back]

deale with them; for all men haue not keeping for two Geldings. It is time that makes a iade knowen; and our knowledge that wishes him further from vs. Many thinges must alter in seauen yeeres, for that wonders happen in a moment. In one day a begger and a King are made equal; both the pompe of the one, and the poore estate of the other, being buried in dust. Losses come soonest valooked for, and the worst bargaines are gotten with the greatest search; neede raiseth the market; and much enquirie after a commoditie engenders fuspect there is fcarcitie thereof. What cannot golde doo? and may it not, then, eafily convert a hart that longes after it? There are many entifing baites that change many mindes; & who wil not striue for the golden Apple? onely except those that know they cannot get it, though they are deserving thereof, which impossibilitie must needs hatche miserie. How be cormorants more plagued, then by a disappointment of their purpose? They that forestall markets, make often times but bad bargaines, as well as the fluggard that comes a day after the Faire.

Is it not folly to striue to keepe a wet Eele by the taile? or what commoditie ariseth of holding the Diuell by the great toe? the one is ouer-quick, and the other wonderous firong; and, in Honeflies iudgement, a knowne loffe, the fooner it comes, the leffe it greeues; and better it is to be without company, then to be matcht with an enemie. Slipperie ware is not the best Marchandize; and what requires more care, then Glaffe that is most brittle? I know you wil fay a womans hart is as tender, and that I think no leffe. Then, fince we must hazard our welfare, that are constrained to deale with such pure metall, being tied to that traffique; let vs not bestowe all our hope on a peece we know must stay so long by vs, before we can make profite thereof. Honestie is rather a professed solicitor for a woman, then a counseller to a man; but, for that both men and ig. G 3] women are troubled with the like diseases, let them 1 vse my plaster. that like best of my knowledge. Where loue strikes the bargaine, their liking cannot flart backe; but vnles he be bound by his agreement, affection is a fickle fellowe. What furer couenant then fetled loue? But they which respect not their worde, will hardly regarde an oathe. Honestie is all, for hee is the father of constancie; and a fig for that loue which must be tied by the lawe! If we foster a

fnake, she will sting vs by the bosome; and hee that sues for an enemie, is worthy to have his pate broken with want of honestie. A tedious fuite makes ritch lawyers and leefing clients; and a defire to haue all, makes vs often to loofe all.

I have heard of a Gentleman that tied himselfe to a poore maide after the manner aforesaide, meaning to marrie with her after the death of his father, for that hee durft not doe it while hee liued. Hee maintained her passing brauely, running himselfe greatly into debt, through the large expenses she lasht out. Which curious and ritch fetting forth, made many to looke after her, which otherwise would not have thought on her. A blazing starre presages alteration, as the Aftronomers holde it; and doubtles, a proper woman gayly apparelled, breeds miracles in mens mindes. A prancing horse moues wondring, when a fure nagge onely pleafeth the rider; fo while shee liued according to her birth, few or none regarded hir; but now fet foorth as readie for fale, her gallantnes engendred thoughts of fome great portion to be fallen by an vnlooked for accident. Nor will friends let to speake, to make a friend speede well, and hire of the fame minde gaue forth that it was fo indeede; vpon which reporte many wooers were drawne to trie their fortunes, and amongst them a ritch farmers fonne fet in his foote to hazard his happe. Whome her parents and friends fo well liked, being his fathers onely childe, as they began to perswade their daughter to take it while it were offered, after this maner: 'Tut, wench (quoth they), while the graffe growes the steed starues; and, as soone goes the young steare as the 1 olde oxe [* sig. G 3, back] to the market. Young heads are fickle; and suppose he should play false, how should we remedie it? Golde bies lawe now a dayes: and may not a bribe eate vp a fure title, as wee haue heard a fat hog did a poore mans glasse of oyle? He that can give moste, shall be fure to fpeed best; and you knowe; daughter, your father is not able to wage lawe against fo ritch an enemie. Why, woman, you haue not seene him this fortnight; and how knowe we but he hath a wife in a corner? By our Lady, girle, fuch windefalles happen not often, as is this day put into your mouth. By cock and pie, doo as you will, but if you doo refuse this proffer, we will denie you our bleffing.' Which counfell stroke so deepe into her conscience, as it sent packing all the affection her protested loyaltie had promised, and

turned it so to the farmers sonne, as in short time hee maried with her.

By that time, as my minion had been married three or foure dayes, thither comes posting my out-ioynted Gentleman: of whose starke ftaring mad discontentment, vpon the hearing of his willow guift, Honestie lists not to stand, since you can imagine it was great: but what remedie? What wife man would fue for a false-hearted begger? or what gaine should be got by the recouerie of a broken pipkin? In feeking to have plagued her, he should have punished himselfe, adding but shame to the losse of a greater expence, and in the ende, recouered a flap with a foxe tale. Well, I pittie him, because of his kindnes which was so crossed; but if Honestie heares of any fuch kinde affes hereafter, he will make as good sporte thereat as the boyes doo at the foole of a Morrice. Are they not worthie to lie by the heeles, that purchase the countertenor with so plaine a prickfong? I warrant you it prict and pincht him too; but his father was the more willing to release him, for that he hopte that losse had gaind him more wit. Honestie could tell you of a thousand that have been served after the same order, they having promifed to flaye one for another; fome a yeare, others more or leffe, of G 41 whereof some have had their 1 hope sound within a fortnight of their day, and then, thinking themselues neerest to have their willes, in come takers, putting their nofes quite besides the sweete sent of their forespoken bedfellowes. This can be no small griefe to a kinde, confrant heart, that hath, peraduenture, refused many good likely hoods to flay for fuch a light huswife. He that will thinke himselfe fure to a woman, or fhee that will build on a mans conftancie, till the parish priest hath saide God give yee ioye, and the brides bed hath borne it first nights waight, he is not of Honeslies minde, though I wish it were otherwise.

It is as good to bee affured of the horne, as to bee made fure to an vnconftant heart, for they that looke for les shall be disappointed. God forbid *Honestie* should say it were vnpossible, that two may loue constantly vnmarried seuen yeres; but he may aboue that two say, such are scarce found in seauen ages. Walke but to Westminster,—a place, in faith, where constancie is as little vsed as wit in Bedlam,—and yet there (I warrant you) you shall have your head filled with tales

of vnconftant louers. Goe, likewife, to Poules (a path as well haunted with hunters of honestie as Kemps head is sometimes pestered with knauerie), and blame Honestie if there you heare not outcries of wauering wenches. Long lanes and broade ftreetes, little cottages and manner places, are at this day, by report, bolftred with naught fo much as with vuconstant mindes. Whereby, what through the forrowe Conftancies complainte moues, and the griefe honefties broken pate procures, it is great pittie wee should not have many knackes to knowe knaues by, and as many Iigges to gird garish girles with. I[n] peticoate lane is a pocket ful of new fasshions, the drift whereof is, that first commers should be first served; but they meane no commers which enter not the placket. In Shooelane there is one that felles running lether, the vertue whereof is maintained with liquor of a careles heart; fo that hee or shee that cannot play light of loue, shall not be customed there. Withdrawe your selues 1 to Crooked [1 leaf G 4, back] lane, and, of Honesties credite, you shall finde more traps to catch Rats and Mice there, then conftant louers in Shordich Church at midnight.

What shall I say, since the art of Cony-catching hath forestalled good inuention? but fie on the diuell that driues fuch wits to fo bad a bargaine, as to be forst to spend their time in no better studies. They have need of good intelligencers that shall intermeddle with trickes of Coning-shifts; for mine own part, I had rather wade to the middle in Loues whirle-poole, then to the anckles in the brooke of vnconftancie. And yet, force perforce, by Loues appoyntment, I must have a sling at her followers. Let them slye to the gallowes, for Honeslie, that loues her fo well; and my fling will drive them to a worse place, vnlesse they leave her. Vp hill and downe hill is a very troublesome labour; but vp the ladder and downe the rope ends many ones miferie. What steeper way then to the height of affection? and how many often post vp and down betweene that and the valley Likings-recantation. 'I recant' now a daies followes Loues heeles like his shadowe; it is a halting crackhalter, and a hurtfull hinderloue, and best he shall be knowne by his flumpe foote. I meane not a mishapen ledge, but a resting loue, that either makes fuch a full poynt in the beginning, as he can goe no further, or els flands at a flay two or three quarters, not knowing

whether it were best to goe forwards or backwards. Extreames are as daungerous as stretches: for, as many ioynts are out-set or crackt by the one, fo many vncurable hurts are received by the other. Honestie thinkes a seuen nights space is too short a time to fasten a true louers knot; but he that out stayes the moneth, may learne as much in that time as is needfull to be knowne. A longer time is pleafing to them that have barres to hinder their forwardnes, but he that may goe on without hinderances, if hee aimes at a longer respite, take it on Honesties word, hee workes but vpon advantage. They that build their affection upon reason, are like to remaine most constant; for 1 where a condition of profite binds the futors, there a long day will not likely be broken. But this reason craues wisedome, the experience whereof must awaite on Loues followers, the practise being nothing but this, a care in our choyce to maintaine the maine chaunce. That is, that they which haue little, doe fancie none but fuch as haue fomewhat, and they that haue nothing, either to match with fuch as haue enough to ferue themselues and others, or els to sit ftill in the chimney corner. Al must measure their liking according to the depth of their defire, to the end they may line with contentment, which will (I warrant you) nourish constancie.

Now followeth another fort, which are not the least enemies Loue hath, being our common courting lads, who take fuch pleafure in their pregnant wits, and fo great glorie in their readie tongues, as a wench cannot peepe forth the doores, but they must have a sling at her beautie. First comes, 'saire ladie, God saue you'; and then followes, that the fight of fuch a blazing Commet makes them stand at the gaze, for that fuch fights are feldome feene. After, enfues their application, falling from the celeftiall creatures to their earthly Goddeffes, extolling their beauties to fuch a height, as, when they can goe no further, having forgotten their way backwards, they fall downe headlong, breaking the necke of Good reason. Then come they to the good parts of their bodies, and from thence to a supernaturall view of their hidden vertues, building vpon the prouerbe, A faire face cannot have a crabbed heart, though many of them find by experience, but crabbed entertainment to proceede from those their celestial objects; yet the most, what through their quicke conceipts, false protestations and vsuall resorting into their companies, bring

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many into fuch a fooles paradice, as they harpe on nothing but mariage. And maruell not, feeing we have many fo forward wenches, that if a man looke but earneftly vpon them, they thinke verely hee is inamoured of their beautie; but shal he speake, and say he loues them, "my father, my mother, 1 and all my friends must be [z sig. H, made privile to his proceedings, for I know he will have me."

Alas! light hearts that are lead away with euery kinde blaft; know ye not that our age flowes with fine wits, that must borrow their practife of fuch like patients? Doe not many men cheapen, that meane not to buy? & think you to want fuch customers? How many come into a Faire with neuer a farthing in their purses, and yet for fashion fake will aske the price of a costly peece of worke! Our tongues stand vs in little charges for reparations; and seeing they weare not, we will not spare to wagge them. But this is best knowne to you women, whom nature bindes to the greatest practice, having giuen you no other weapon; yet, I may tell you, men cannot want that inftrument, especially in their wooing matters. But did many of both kindes vse it lesse, both you and they should speede neuer the worse, for you should misse of many fond faithles speeches, and they should march without as many kinde hit-home floutes. They should not, playing with the fire, be burnt with the flame, and remaine helples through your careles pitie; nor should you be intrapt in the fnares of their fmoothe words, decreafing your glorious beauty by hopeles conceites of obtaining your wished happines.

Many honest mindes taken at their words, are bound to bad bargaines, when, on the contrarie part, a crackt credit regardes neither his own reputation or anothers welfare. How easie is a free horse tired, a good edge-toole spoyled, and a kinde heart surfeited? A dull iade will rather be spurde to death then breake his pace; and with a bad knife we may assay to cut any thing, without dooing it much harme; but woe bee vnto that heart, whose mildenes makes it selfe subject to a counterfeit kindnes. You shall sighe forth your forrow, while they smile at their good successe; they, building their assurance of being no losers on your good dispositions, that serue for stables to rest their hopes in; your good natures must bee but roumes for hackness that neuer knowe their masters, and your kinde hearts to saig. H2] serue for mangers to seede their bad conceites. Their trotting shall

fasten to your heads heapes of proclamations, the clauses whereof shall breede thousand of doubted miseries, and ten thousands of carefull heartbreakings. Their counterfeit frendship shall hinder faithfull and louing proceedings, hurting affection by hindring it from it defarte, with keeping it from receiving the due of requitall. That bootles conftancie shall banish faithfull loyaltie by crabbed crosses, and purchase to it self, through a haples conclusion, a cart-loade of carefull extremities. True-meaning thereby shall be deceaued on both fides, and kind-heartednes plagued with ouer-furefet affection. Loue shal be banded away with the racket of dislimulation, and beaten at last into the hazard Despaire by his sporting enemie. What a great losse will followe such a chase, and how great expence of hearts griefe must ensue so shroude a game, gesse you, that lie condemned in the like charges. Onely Honestie pitties such a pastime that ends with so smal pleasure, and wil now come to give you warning of what he hath seene happen in the like cases of little conscience.

There was one of this focietie that had fo courted vp a wench, as through a potion of pleasure he had given her, her belly rose like a blowne bladder. Belly round she was, so that, through his crast, her credit stoode vpon cracking; which she perceauing, entreated her phisition, that as hee had tasted of her curtesie, so he would saue her honestie, declaring that she was with childe, as the truth was. 'Of my faith (quoth he), what care I? You might have tooke better heede; you are best to make haste and get a father for it.' 'I hope (anfwered she) you will not serue me so; are these your faire promises? and can your vowes bee fo flightly passed ouer? Haue you not made loue to me by the space of a quarter, being vsed kindly of mee. and can you finde in your heart thus cruelly to requite my extraordinarie fauour, putting me to shiftes in this extremitie? Is it possible your professed whot love should be so soone cold, or that 1 your large promifes should turne to so little performance? I cannot thinke you, being a man, can be fo cruell as to cast away a poore maiden.' 'Away, beaft (quoth he), thy perfwafions are as bootles as thy thoughts; and I am affured thou art not fo foolish as to build of any thing I have faide, or of that I have done, but as of a left; if thou

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dooft, it will be a bad foundation; and with that, he flong forth of the dores, leaving my maimed-maide in a bad taking.

Doe you tearme fuch dooing iesting? thought Honestie; if Chaucers iapes were fuch iestes, it was but bad sporte; well, a sporte it was, though it proued a fure earnest; and who knowes not that fweete meates craue fowre fauce? Her laughing lye-downe came to fad rifing-vp, a shrewde sporte to turne to such sorrie pastime; and if fuch an earnest penny cannot binde a bargaine, nought wil holde the like chapmen but a halter. Now, Tiborne and Wapping waite on fuch for Porters, as post to markets, so to iest with lac'st-mutton. faying had been all, shee had beene foolish indeede to haue regarded a fooles speeches; but, seeing he crept so farre into credit with her, as he crackt her placket lace, how could he of conscience call that iefting? Doth Honestie talke of conscience to Buls bailiffes, that haue no care of any thing but to faue their cassokes from being his purchase? Now, fie of all the Beadles of Bridewell, if they spare such a fporter comming vnder their correction, without double the dole they punish one of Baals common Priests with. I would their blewe coates might fall to be Hindes fees, vnleffe they give fuch foure luftie lashes at euery kennell and streets corner they passe by. Why, vnder the cloake of honest satisfaction, to allure an honest minde to lewde corruption, is no leffe thefte then robbing of Churches; onely the Clarkes confent feemes in the one to craue fome tolleration ouer it doth in the other. Then you will fay they deferue both to be hanged, and fo would Honestie fay, but that their christianity merites charitie. But, of my troth, if Honeslie were a Iustice, such as sue after the selfefame order, should either marrie with them they 1 have deceived, or [1 sig. H 3] hang without them, my minion going vnpunished, for that time in hope of amendment. Loue is a kinde hart, and mariage is a fweete baite; what, then, will not fuch promifes gaine of a faithfull louer? This iefting turnes to lingring loue, when the weakest hath furfeited in affection. Sweet speeches have vowed everlasting constancie; and running in the pleafant meddowe of kindenes, it growes luftie, fpending the remnant of his wooing to winne vnto fuch bad fare; courting endes with fuch a charge, changing professed loue into burning lust. Loue lookes to be maintained with kindenes, and when he hath got

what wordes can affoorde, then falles he to iefting, which turns contrary to *Chaucers* meaning, to *the* fatiffying of a leachers luft in earnest. But too too much of this, except it were better; and once more returne we to our melancholly lefte marde maide.

She, poore foule, fet so lightly by in her fortie weekes reckoning, fo thought on her present hard hap, as she quite forgot her accompt, wherby now she was in a worse taking then before; for if, being put to her othe, she should misse of that, his counter othe would make but a fo fo end for her; and, therefore, thus she bestirred her selfe in the matter. She made her case knowne to a freend, and, falling downe upon her knees, entreated him, for the passion of our Lady, to fland good helpe vnto her, to draw her mate to marry with her. Who, being a very honest man that had some care of her credit, laboured to effectually in the matter, as, what through promifes and a peece of money, he made it a match; fo that, what through a little honestie my man was endued with, and a peece of money my maiden was endowed with, we had a choptlodgicke. Now, woe vnto fuch wooed spouses, if their mates want altogether honestie, and they have no money; and this might haue, perchaunce, wonne the standing in a white sheete without so good a maister. Take heede, girles, how you trust to such helpes, for Honestie can tell you they are not ordinaric. It is harder to finde one fuch in euery parishe through a Countrie, then to finde a honest woman in a house of Westminsters Hospitalitie. Alas! how many honest mens children come to decay through this practife? Talke with any corrupted Virgine; and, excepting one amongst twentie, if they all not agree that such enticements were the procurers of their miserie, neuer beleeue Honeslie for a halfepennie. Beware if a rich mariage be offered for a rewarde of breache of honestie; there are fewe that will not consent to leacherie with fuch briberie.

[1 sig H 3, back]

But the opening of an other wound remaines, with which loue is hurt by his courting enemies, for they which have beene once deceived by flatterie, will hardly be drawen to beleeve finceritie, whereby the faithfull futor is hindred from his due. The beaten dogge fluns the flick; the tormented patient feares the Pothecaries drugs; the childe that hath beene fore whipt for a fault, will feare, by offending, to hazard his breeche. Who is more warie of his wel

fare, then he that hath been in greatest extremitie? and if loue hath been wounded with a diffembled affection, he will be afraide to enter into an action from whence the like forrowe may flowe. What giues greater hope of conftancie, then vowed loyalty? or what feemes fweeter then fugered flatterie? Affection springeth of kinde vsage, and loue fettles on a continued shewe of professed zeale, which, being fure fet, cannot be remoued without great danger, except wifedome be a helper. What forrowe danger brings, and what care difcontentment harboureth, he knowes not. But of the vnceafing hartsgreefe, with the tormenting foure-fauce which feafoneth the destruction of entire affection, none can judge, faue those that have tasted thereof; onely it may be imagined by the effects that have followed the like causes (as by the vntimely death it hath brought to some, a deprivation of their wits to others, languishing diseases to many; namely, the greene ficknes, the mother, and fuch like; and lastly, to all mad melancholye fits), that they which are fauoured with the least mishap that comes through want of their longing, are rewarded 1 with [* leaf H 4] the losse of a present wel-fare, having that supplyed by a gifte of fighing heavines. Now, after the freedome from fuch a mischeefe, who will not sweare to flie from the like danger? And fince flatterie cannot, without dangerous triall, be knowen from faithfull freendship, who will not shunne both, fearing to mistake the one for the other? If a kinde hart hath beene deceived by a crooked knaue, clad in the robes of a courteous louer, she will euer after mistrust the habite, for that it is vnpoffible to know the hart. Who can forbid the Tailor to vse his arte? and doo you thinke that any one for an aduantage will let to trie his crafte? The Diuell can change himselfe into any shape; and the onely meanes to knowe him (as is faide before), is his ftumpe foote.

Liking wil not be long a dooing; and loue that followes is but little, whereby he brings no great harme; but al the mischeese comes with desire, which swelles the affections, and predominates ouer loue and liking; he makes the mis-rule, and keeps the open Christmas; he desires the sporte, and maintaines the pastime, so that, though he be long in comming, and staies but little in his Lordship, yet the remembrance of his iolitie is not forgotten a long time after. He keepes his custome euery yeere; and a yeere with him is but a short

fpace; fo that after he comes to his full age, he makes many Christmasses; for Desire is not short lived. It is therefore this lingring love that dooth all the harme, because by him Desire is onely begotten. He that, beating the market, is willing to buye, will not stand long a bargaining when he hath met with his liking, for feare a francker customer steppe betweene him and his longing; but if he be careles, he will not deale without a good penniworth. Very eafily, then, is the mischeese of repentance taken from women, seeing a true-meaning futor may be as quickly difcerned, as a careles chapman may be perceined. And how fondly doo they entrude themselues into the needles hazard of great discontent, that will let their loue runne so farre without reason, as it 1 cannot be called backe without great greefe at the leaft. Though a buyer be not able to give the feller his asking, yet will he be earnest to haue it at such a price as he doth offer; and, although this louing customer be not of abilitie to answere thy freends expectation, yet shall he not be forward to be possessed of thee; he is but a watcher for aduantages. So that if either his abilitie be fuch, as of himselfe he can maintaine thee, or be thy possibilitie so great, as by his good endeuour he may winne a liuing, thy freends good will, by the poffession of thee, thy affection is too too colde, it thou keepes him lingring without his longing; and his deuotion is fmall, if he be not an vnceafing futor for it.

fmall, if he be not an vnceafing futor for it.

And truely, in *Honefties* minde (and pardon me, I pray you, with whose conceipts it impess not), those matches shall prosper best, where loue is rather respected then wealth; prouided there be a care had of the likelyhoode of possibilitie which must come with one of them. But shall one that hath nothing, ioyne louing issue with an other that hath, or is like to have as little, he having no meanes to make a living, he shewes himself to be a foolish follower of repentance, and an vncharitable procurer of an others wretchednes? There are many good wits, that, wanting matter to worke on, wade into the triall of dangerous conclusions, which otherwise being imployed, would become profitable members of a common wealth. All cannot be heires, and many yonger brothers children are but barely left, though they have had good bringing vp, which nothing hinders their gentrie, onely, now a daics, it is a barre to their preferment. For men wil fooner match their daughters with my yong maister, a rich Coblers

[1 leaf H 4, back] Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good house, being a yonger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this the making of vpstart houses; heerby, those that have had good bringing vp, must either goe to plough and carte, being drudges to such drones, or their natures, disdaining that, and more abhorring to begge, leade them to lewde practises to maintaine 1 the [2 sig. I] state of their birth. And did you, Fathers, which are to match your Children, know the hart-breakings many parents (which have beene of your mindes) have found by triall, then would the seare of vnciuill behaviour, which springeth by succession from their carterly progenitors, turne your greedie desire of golden gaine, to a ioyfull gaining of your posterities happines.

But fie of couetouines, that is the roote of all mischiefe; for men that have enough to make their Daughters Gentlewomen, by matching them with houses of no small antiquitie, will, with the desire they haue therevnto, wooe men of great liuing with large offers, to match their fons and heires with them; Who, being drawen therunto, will vse them their wives meetely well during the life time of their owne and wives Fathers, for that their estates are by their great portions better maintained, and their best freends thereby well pleased. But let your Daughters beware, after your and their Fathers death (when all hope is taken away of a further gaine, and a fearch made of their auncestors alliance), for then, seeing the basenes of your pettigree, and the noble descents of their predecessors, that corruption of blood which you, with your corruption of money, hath made, and their Fathers couetousnes hath purchased to their succession, will (as for the most parte it doth in the like cases) moue such hartbreakinges, as either quarrelles of diuorcement or futes of feparation will furely followe. When, on the contrary parte, if respecting gentrie, thereby to aduaunce your houses, you would match them with Gent. yonger brothers (of whom there ought to be leffe regarde, the chiefe house being maintained), your Daughters portions being the onely maintenance of their estates, would be so strong a helpe to encrease their affection towards your children, with purchased happines to their posterities, as knowing no housholde quarrelles can be without charges, they willbe glad to studie to encrease the sweetenes of vnitie, thereby to continue euerlasting prosperitie to their following ages.

[z sig. I, back]

[2 sig. I 2]

1 Honestie knowes what the fairing-monger will faye, when he shall heare of one fo flat against his opinion touching mariages, not letting to affirme that it is most necessarie that the consent of parents should be last fued for, and little regarded in respect of loue, especiallye feeing his Pamphlet buildes fo diuinelye on farre-fetcht arguments to proue the contrarie. Therfore, to preuent him, and to prouide against the great danger their matches-making procure, Honestie must tell him, and affure all those that are of his minde, that were the worlde like vnto that wherein Abraham liued, or were Fathers of these daies of his disposition, his argument drawen from the gift of Euah to Adam, by God, and fuch like, might feeme to proue fome thing. But, feeing these times in effect are quite contrary to those, and the dispositions of men in our daies altogether disagreeing to theirs of that age, his time had beene better spent in a worke to some other purpose. For a little to feeme to flie from my matter, and to haue a fling at him: how many Fathers now a daies are there to carefull of prouiding conuenient mates for their children at a feafonable time as our great Grandfather Abraham was? Againe, how manye haue children that are fo obedient to bend their love to their Parents liking as was Isaac? Ob, Sir, you are deceaued, our yong ones are of riper wits, and far forwarder then Children were in those daies, and our olde ones are of more couetous mindes, and far forwarder to be drawen to their childrens good; for what greater good then to eniove them they loue? and what will offend our parents more then to entreat that he fent his feruant to fearch forth one of his next kinne, not to enquire after one that had most wealth; and should some children entertaine no loue in our time vntill their parents procured it, nor fue for a match before their freends made it, it were requifite their honestie should be great, or I knowe what will follow. Yet, againe, Fathers liue not now adaies ordinarily aboue a hundred yeeres, whereby they haue a long la2fting gouernement ouer their Children; but beholde it is far contrary, and therefore it requires contrary proceedings. And laftly (for that I will not be long at this time in this matter), the holy writ beares not fuch fway in our confciences, as it workt wonders in theirs of those daies; and therefore, to helpe our weaknes in the want of that warrant, we must vie the meanes-loue-to drawe vs to that euerlasting happines.

But once more to my courting companions, to make as speedie an end with them, whose haire-braine fancying and fickle affection is no fmall hindrance to loues proceedings. Honestie, having fet downe the meanes to finde out their knauerie, hath also prouided a batte to beate downe fuch flatterie, the inftruement to finde out their diffimulation being a fearch into their lingring, and the clubbe to match their clubbe feete, a loathing of their company. But to come to the punishment I would have such to be plagued with: in my opinion, and by Honesties doome, they are worthie to be set for scarre-crowes in newe fowen fieldes; and the rather thus goes my judgement, for that feeing they are fo skilfull to doo harme in townes and cities, if that bad-used wit were forst to be imployed about that commodious doo-good, they would inuent excellent meanes to preuent the fpoyle the rauenous birds commit. Their pregnant wits and cunning deuices to catch womens affections, that farre exceede crowes in reason and discretion, confirme they would be strange, and therefore profitable; yet, because it is somewhat too bace, though their practises are as beaftly, I will ende with them with this refolution:-That they are as worthie to stand in white-sheetes in Churches, for leauing women in desperate cases, having drawen them into that sooles paradice of ouer-passionate affection, as they that poyson strangers bellies; This would make faithfull futors happie, conftant louers ioyfull, and courting diffemblers feareful.

Honestie, having noted these enormities harbored in lewde dispofitions shuffled into this Morrice, at last lent 1 his eares, and bestowed [1 sig. I 2, back] his eyes, ioyning with him his best vnderstanding, to search into the natures of the remnant, to fee whether the multitud were mixed with these in bad conceits. But, behold, so contrarie practizes were performed by them, as those proceedings are disagreeing to the furtherance of perfect vnitie. Amongst these did I beholde Loue dandled with fweete mufick, and conftant affection vpholden with modest demeanour. The foueraignes of Virginitie displayed their heauenly dignitie, by the imperiall colours of matchles beautie, grounde with the Ambrofian oyle of celeftiall courtefie; and the matronly deities proued their ethereall difcreetnes, in following the heauens prefcription for Loues true imitation. I faw Kindenes matched with Goodwill, Affection linked vnto Liking, & Loue embraced with

Loyaltie, Vertue leading them to eternall happines. They liked not for a moment, loued not vpon advantage, nor wooed but with a good These shaked not hands with hatefull hearts, nor vsed They courted not fmoothe tongues with diffembling thoughts. kindely, to corrupt shamefully, ne protested with vowes, to wound with wordes, and kill with deeds; but hand and heart went together. and the tongue vttered their passionate conceites; their heart louing them as faithfully as their tongue labored to winne their courtefie. And you no earthly creatures, though ioyned with men for their eternall good (you heauenly faints, I meane, masking in the shadowes of terrestriall shapes), you beautifie this crue with your deuine motions, whose mindes are onely inritched with the true wisdome that vpholdes Loues welfare. Your facred actions ayde his fimple followers, & naught but your carefull kindnes binds mens weake affections from vnconstancie. You make their praiers effectuall, their request gayning through you the fafetie of their longing. Your pittie brings them to pietie, and your almes relieues them from the captiuitie of Despaire. Destressed Honestie is foly harbored within your milkewhite bosomes, and were it not for your bountifull charitie, his end 1 would be tormenting beggerie. Your allablaster pappes do wholy minister moisture to my consuming welfare, and from their sugered teates doe I onely drawe my liquor of life, fo that by your motherly kindnes to decaying Honestie, they reape likewise their blisse, that would give mee my baine; recovering contrarie to their wils the remaynder of their weale. For how marcheth the passionate souldier, without you found the alarome of his good-speede? or, how fareth the amorous gallant, except you play the galliard of acceptance? Vnfortunate eyes, your pearcing fightes that be cruelly curft, and vnnaturall vsage shall be offered to your obedient hearts; for seeing and adoring celeftiall obiects, vales their relenting pittie take mercie on your destressed abiects. And blaspheming tongue, thy vnbridled impudencie shall heape vpon thy owne back a bundle of vntollerable miferies, by being forced to vtter execrable flaunders against them for their hard hearts, that were purchased to worke your hard happe through your owne iniurious follie. Passions of discontent must please your fancies, and forrowfull poems must grace your musick; deep fighes must straine your heart-strings, and direfull forrowe lu?

[1 sig. I 3]

you a fleepe, when vifions of new deftreffes must disquiet your greatest happines, and dreames of fresh vexations forbid you the least ease. You shall sue in vaine, because you have delighted in vanitie; and hope without obtaining, for that your heart have harbored diffembling, except these goddesses, whose goodnes is vnspeakable, vouchsafe to minister a plaster of pitty to your louing pietie. It is their courtesie that must make you chereful, and their good conceits must cherish your dying mirth; their liking must honour your affection, and their gratefull kindnes must advance the zeale of your protested loyaltie. It is in their choyse to change your chance, and in their power to bridle Fortune; for that the Fates, being their fifters, are at their calles to fet downe your destinies. If they say they doe hate you, beware, for they can hurt you; but if they affirme they loue you, striue to continue your present happines, and feare to lose the prof- [1 sig I 3, fered bleffednes. Why are women accounted weake, but because their nature is pure? Or, wherefore are they necessarie, but that men cannot liue without their companie? When we are fuccorles, they comfort vs; being melancholy, they cheere vs; and they are the meanes to redeeme vs from the gates of hell. Being mad, their muficall tongues chafe away the euill spirits; being bewitched, their loue charmes the tormenting diuels; and being fwallowed vp by the gulfe licentiousnes, the heavens have created them the helpe to redeeme vs from that hellish furnace

Thus much for their power; & now, a little of their properties. O, facred mercie (neuer more honored then in the pittifull bosomes of these feminine deities), thou holds thy chief harborow within their passionate bosomes, & only art nourished in their relenting harts. Thou singst within the closets of their pittifull consciences, & reioycest within the castles of their celestiall soules; thou liuest with them secure, and makes through them multitudes of miserable wretches possessor of the highest happines. Thou heares the sighes of suing sweet-hearts, & comforts the pinching griefe of pining louers. Thou meditates of their vowes, and studies to requite their carefull affection with kindest curtesie. Thou pittiest the soolish maladies of fond nouices, & forrowest at the weaknes of many mens wisdome. Thou striuest to do no wrong, that thou maist be free from injurie; and labours to shunne suspect, that thou maist be without missouth.

Thou studiest to repay, that thou maist reape thy due; and keepest thy day, that thou maist bee well dealt with. Yea, much more, and so much the better for man; thou pitties them that would spoile thee, and forgiues them that would hurt thee; thou wishest them well that would bereaue thee of thy weale, & louest them (which is thy only fault), ouer entirely that esteeme of thy prosfered kindnes too too carelesly. Yet let discretion have the second place with you, for she guides them by reason, and that gouerns men with wisdome. She knowes when to charme with 1 fweete melodie, and when to correct with louing perswasions; she vseth to dandle vertue, and reproue vice, to embrace good and flie from euill, and willingly to fubiect obedient imitation to holfome counsell, as also dutifully to defire libertie from stooping to iniurious doctrine. Shee fearcheth into the depth of fubiccted feruife, and discouering whether it be offered of curtefie, or proffered of knauerie, regards it according to it value, and rewardes it with it full worth. She teacheth to like ere they loue, and louing to encrease, or deminish the heate of their fancie, according to the proportion of kinde coales that nourisheth the fire of their affection. She perswadeth to launce, courting to the bones to finde out the danger; and feeing what likelyhoode, either of weale or woe is likest to ensue; shee sheweth them what is good to withdrawe the putrified liking, and what is holfome to preferue the found loue. And she studies to make them happie, by withing men their welfare to make them conftant, by endeuoring to encrease a sparke of loyaltie, and to make them honored by inftructing them in the true rules of modestie.

And now step in further, thou beautifying modestie; for thou addest no small renoune to their adored natures, nor doth thy bashfulnes meanely adorne their highly prifed excellencies; thy rose blusshes bring no small honor to their admired beauty; nor euer dies that facred stayning colour, vntil by mans corruption that maidenly marke be extinguished. Yet then (but, ah! that man should do so much!) thy decent sobrietie advanceth the dignity of their womanly chastitie, and thy matronly behaviour displayeth the soueraintie of their motherly nurture. Thou gives examples that, imitated, prevent occasions of enticing offers to draw to folly, and escapes the iniurious slanders of suspitious searchers, that hunt after shewes of sensuality. Thou main-

[leaf I 4]

tainest peace at home, escapest suspect abroade, and keepest thy louers heart from harboring ielousie, the chiefe procurer of greatest miserie. And thou gainest liking, and encreasest affection, receiving love and loyaltie with an affu¹red pledge of neuer-dying conftancie. Neither [¹ leaf I 4, back] art thou, euerlasting goddes, a stranger to mens-helpers; for thou, with all the vertues, waite vpon these beautiful spectacles, and they, with the Graces, extol those the earths miracles. Their praises are vnípeakeable, for that their worth is vnualuable and their defartes vnrequited, because through mans weakenes misprised; but such and fo great were the adorned excellencies of these humaine deities, as their practifes layde open their princely courtefie, and their performances made their louers happie. And men reioyced through their faithfull affection; fludying to requite womens euerlasting kindnes with the reward of neuer-ceafing conftancie. Men vsed heauenly wisdome to obtaine liking, and carefull behauior to confirme loue being purchased; and women were forward to bestowe modest kindnes, being faithfully dealt withall, and effectually requited proffered curtesie; neither being too too coye, or shewing themselues ouer forward to be wonne. But briefly, and fo to end: euery one of them rendred like for like with proofes of neuer-altering affection, they thereby gaining vnto themseluels the sugred sweetnes of celestiall amitie, & tying vnto their kinde thoughts, the affections of their well-willers, with

FINIS.

euerlasting constancie.

TOM TEL-TROTHS MESSAGE, AND

HIS PENS COM-PLAINT.

A worke not unpleasant to be read, nor unprofitable to be followed.

Written by Jo. La. Gent.

Nullam in correcto crimine crimen erit.



LONDON.

Imprinted for *R. Howell*, and are to be sold at his shop, neere the great North doore of Paules, at the signe of the white horse. 1600.



[P. 5] TO THE WORSIPFULL

MASTER George Dowse, GENTLE-MAN, Io. La. WISHETH FRVITI-

on of endlesse felicitie.



F writings may quittance benefits or goodwill, more then common curtesie, then accept, I beseech you, these first fruites of my barren braine, the token of my loue, the seale of my affection, and the true cognizance of my vnfained affection. And for so-

much as the plot of my Pamphlet is rude, though true, the matter meane, the manner meaner, let me humbly desire, though slenderly I deserue, to haue it patronized vnder the wings of your fauour; in requitall whereof I will be,

Yours euer to command, Io. La.





[p 6]

TO THE GENTLEMEN READERS.

Vdiciall Readers, wise Apolloes flocke,	1
⚠ Whose eyes like keyes doe open learnings locke;	
Daigne with your eye-lampes to beheld this booke,	
And in all curtesie thereon to looke:	4
Thus being patronized by your view,	
I shall not be ashamed of his hew.	
O graunt my suite, my suite you vnderstand,	
That I may you commend, you me command.	8
To Ta	





TOM TEL-TROTHS

Message, and his pens complaint.

.[1]

hou that didst earst Romes Capitall defend, 1P 7] 1
Defend this sacred relique of thy wing,	
And by thy power Diuine some succor send,	
To saue the same from carping Momus sting:	4
That, like a tell-troth, it may boldly blaze,	
And pensill-like paint forth a just dispraise.	6
[2]	
Goe, naked pen, the hearts true secretarie,	7
Imbath'd in sable liquor mixt with gall,	•
And from thy master these rude verses carrie,	
Sent to the world, and in the world, to all:	10
In mournfull verse lament the faults of men,	
Doe this, and then returne heart-easing pen.	I 2
[3]	
Time sits him downe to weepe in sorrowes fell, [p. 8]	13
And Truth bewailes mans present wickednes;	-3
Both Time and Truth a dolefull tale doe tell,	
Deploring for mans future wretchednes.	16
With teare-bedewed cheeks, help, help therfore,	
Sad tragicke muse, to weepe, bewaile, deplore.	18
[]	
Mee thinks I see the ghost of Conscience,	τ.
Raisde from the darke graue of securitie,	19
Viewing the world, who once was banisht thence,	
Her cheeks with teares made wet, with sighs made dry:	22
And this did aggravate her griefe the more,	22
To see the world much worse than twas before.	0.4
a o ood made it than beloude	24

[5]		
She wept; I saw her weepe, and wept to see		25
The salt teares trickling from her aged eyes;		
Yea, and my pen, copartner needs would be,		
With black-inke teares, our teares to simpathize:		28
So long wee wept, that all our eyes were drie,		
And then our tongues began aloud to crie.		30
[6]		
Come, sad Melpomene, thou tragicke Muse,	[p. 9]	31
To beare a part in these our dolefull cries!	-	Ŭ
Spare not with taunting verses to accuse		
The wicked world of his iniquities!		34
Tell him his owne! be bold, and not ashamed,		•
Nor cease to speake till thou his faults hast blamed!		36
[7]		Ĭ
<u> </u>		
I seeme to heare resounding Ecchoes tatling, Of misdemeanors raigning heere and there,		37
And party-coloured Pyes on greene bowes pratling,		
Of foolish fashions raging euerie where:		4.0
Then blame not my muse, what so ere she say,		40
Sith birds and Ecchoes, mens fond faults bewray.		42
		42
[8]		
O world, no world, but rather sinke of sinne,		43
Where blind and fickle Fortune Empresse raigneth;		
O men, no men, but swine that lie therein,		
Among whom, vertue wrong'd by vice complaineth:		46
Thus world bad, men worse, men in world, worldly me	en,	_
Doe giue occasion to my plaintife pen.		48
[9]		
Sinne, like the monstra Hydra, hath more heads,	[p. 10]	49
Then heavens hie roofe hath silver-spangled starres,		
And in his Iawes, mens soules to hell he leads,	Li <i>orig.</i> la	wes]
Where fierie fiends meete them in flaming Charres:		5 2
This Pirate, like a Pilate, keepes each coast,		
Bringing his guests vnto their hellish hoast.		E 1

and his pens complaint.		113
[10]		
If all the earth were writing paper made, All plowshares pens, all furrowes lines in writing, The Ocean inke, wherein the sea-nimphes wade,		55
And all mens consciences were scribes inditing: Too much could not be written of mans sinne,		58
Since sinne did in the first man first begin.		бо
[11] But as the Ægyptian dog runs on the brinke Of Nilva seven fold over flowing flowd		бі
Of Nilus seuen-fold ouer-flowing floud, And staying not, nowhere, nowhere doth drinke, For feare of Crocodiles which lurke in mudde: So shall my pen runne briefly ouer all,		64
Reciting these misdeeds which worke mans thral.		66
[12]		
Nature, that whilome bore the chiefest sway, Bridling mans bodie with the raignes of Reason, Is now inforc'd in vncoth walkes to stray,	[p 11]	67
Exilde by custome, which encrocht through treason: Instead of Art, Natures companion,		70
Fancie with custome holdes dominion.		72
Ouid could testifie that, in his time, Astraea fled from earth to heauen aboue, Loathing iniustice as a damned crime,		73
Which she with equall poised schoales did proue: And this pen in my time shall justifie,		76
That true religion is constrainde to flie.		78
[14]		
The two leafe-dores of quondam honestie, Which on foure vertues Cardinall were turned, By Cardinals dogree and proprie		79
By Cardinals degree and poperie, Are now as heretike-like reliques burned:		82
Now carnall vice, not vertue Cardinall,		<u> </u>
Plaies Christmas gambals in the Popes great hall. SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: TELL-TROTH.	8	84

[1,5]		
Well, sith the Popes name pops so fitly in,	fp 12]	85
From Pope ile take the Latin P. away,		
And Pope shall with the Greeke π , then begin, Whose type and tippe that he may climbe ile pray:		88
Pray all with mee that he may climbe this letter;		
For in this praier each man is his detter.		ئابو
[16]		
I passe not although with bell, booke, and candle,		91
His bald-pate Priests and shoren Friers curse;		
My plaintife pen, his rayling text shall handle:		
Nor doe I thinke my selfe one iot the worse:		94
Yea, though my pen were in their Purgatorie,		
Yet should my pen hold on his plaintife storie.		96
[17]		
Oh, what a world is it for one to see,		97
How Monkes and Friers would religious seeme?		,
Whose heads make humble congies to the knee,		
That of their humble minds all men might deeme:		100
These be the sycophants, whose fained zeale		
Hath brought-in woe to euerie commonweale.		102
[18]		
The Monkes, like monkies, having long blacke tailes,	[p 13]	103
Tell olde wives tales to busie simple braines;	tr -31	3
The baudie Friers do hunt to catch females,		
To shriue and free them from infernall paines.		106
Thus Monkes and Friers, fire-brands of hell,		
Like to incarnate diuels with vs dwell.		108
[19]		
But I as loath, so will I leave to write,		109
Against this popish ribble rabble route,		109
Hoping ere long some other will indite		
Whole volumes gainst their slander-bearers stout:		112
Poets and Painters meane while shall descry,		
With pens and pensils, their hypocrisie.		114

and his pens complaint.		115
[20] As thus my pen doth glance at euerie vice, Needs must I heare poore Learnings lamentation,		115
Which whilome was esteem'd at highest price, But now rejected is of euerie nation: She loueth men, yet is shee wrong'd by men; Her wronged loue giues matter to my pen.		118 120
[21] Pallas, the nurse of Nature-helping Art, Whose babes are Schollers, and whose cradels, schooles, From whose milch teates no pupils would depart,	[p 14]	121
Till they by cunning shund the names of fooles: She, euen she, wanders in open streetes, Seeking for schollers, but no schollers meetes.		124
[22] Englands two eyes, Englands two Nurceries, Englands two nests, Englands two holy mounts, I meane, Englands two Vniuersities,		127
Englands two Lamps, Englands two sacred founts, Are so puld at, puld out, and eke puld downe, That they can scarce maintaine a wide sleeu'd gowne.		130
[23] Lately as one CAME ore a BRIDGE, he saw An Oxe stand ore a FORDE to quench his drouth: But lo, the Oxe his dry lips did withdraw,		133
And from the water lifted vp his mouth. Like <i>Tantalus</i> , this drie Oxe there did stand: God grant this darke Ænigma may be scand!		136
[24]		
The Liberall Sciences, in number seauen, Which, in seauen ages, like seauen Monarchs raigned, And shin'd on earth as Planets seauen in heauen,	[p. 15]	139
Are now like Almesfolkes beggerly maintained, Whilst in their roome, seauen deadly sins beare sway,		142
Which makes these seauen Arts, like seauen slaues obe	у.	144

[25]	
Grammer, the ground and strong foundation	145
Vpon which Lady Learning builds her tower;	
Grammer, the path-way and direction	۵
That leadeth vnto Pallas sacred bower,	148
Stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,	
Whom all in free Schooles erst might free behold.	150
[26]	
Add Rhetoricke, adornde with figures fine,	151
Trickt vp with tropes, and clad in comely speech,	
Is gone a Pilgrime to the Muses nine,	
For her late wrong assistance to beseech.	I 54
Now rich Curmudgions, best orations make,	
Whilst in their pouches gingling coyne they shake.	156
[27]	
Logicke, which like a whetstone sharpes the braine, [p 16]	157
Logicke, which like a touch-stone tries the minde,	
Logicke, which like a load-stone erst drew gaine,	
Is now for want of maintenance halfe pinde;	160
And sith in Colledges no maides may dwell,	
Many from Colledges doe her expell.	162
[28]	
Musicke, I much bemourne thy miserie,	163
Whose well-tunde notes delight the Gods aboue,	
Who, with thine eare-bewitching melodie,	
Doest vnto men and beasts such pleasure moue:	166
Though wayling cannot helpe, I wayle thy wrong,	
Bearing a part with thee in thy sad song.	168
[29]	
Arithmeticke, she next in number stands,	169
Numbring her cares in teaching how to number;	-05
Which cares, in number passing salt-sea sands,	
Disturbe her minde, and still her corps incumber:	172
Care addeth griefe, griefe multiplies her woe,	/
Whose ehhe substracting brings reducing floe	

and his pens complaint.		117
[30]		
Geometrie, as seruile prentise bound Vnto the Mother earth for many yeares, Hath long since meated out the massie ground,	[p. 17]	175
Which ground the impression of her foot-steps beares. Great was her labour, great should be her gaine		178
But her great labour was repaid with paine.		180
[31]		
Astronomie, not least though last, hath lost By cruell fate her starre-embroidred coate; Her spherie globe in dangers seas is tost,		181
And in mishap her instruments doe floate: All Almanacks hereof can witnesse beare,		184
Else would my selfe hereof as witnesse sweare.		186
[32]		
But how should I with stile poeticall Proceede to rime in meeter or in verse? If Poetrie, the Queene of verses all,		187
Should not be heard, whose plaint mine care doth pierce? Oh helpe, Apollo, with apologie,	?	190
To blaze her vndeserued iniurie.		192
[33]		
Horace did write the Art of Poetrie, The Art of Poetrie Virgill commended; Ouid thereto his studies did applie,	[p 18]	193
Whose life and death, still Poetrie defended. Thrice happie they, but thrice vnhappie I,		196
They sang her praise, but I her iniurie.		198
[34]		
O princely Poetrie, true Prophetesse, Perfections patterne, Matrone of the Muses, I weepe to thinke how rude men doe oppresse		199
And wrong thine Art with their absurd abuses. They are but drosse, thine Art it is diuine,		202
Cast not therefore thy pearles to such swine.		204

[35]

L35J		
The sugred songs that sweete Swannes vse to sing,		205
Floting adowne Meanders siluer shore,		
To countrie swaines no kinde of solace bring;		
The winding of an horne they fancie more.		208
No marueile then though Ladie Poetrie		
Doe suffer vndeserued iniurie.		210
[36]		
Like to Batillus, euery ballet-maker,	[p. 19]	211
That neuer climbd vnto Pernassus Mount,	fb. 191	211
Will so incroach, that he will be partaker		
To drinke with Maro at the Castale fount.		0.1.4
Yea, more then this, to weare a lawrell Crowne		214
		6
By penning new gigges for a countrie clowne.		216
[37]		
When Marsias with his bagpipes did contend		217
To make farre better Musicke then Apollo:		
When Thameras in selfe conceit would mend		
The Muses sweete songs note, what then did follow?		220
Conuicted both, to both this was assignde:		
The first was hangd, the last was stroken blinde.		222
[38]		
And may it happen to those bastard braines,		223
Whose base rimes striue to better Poetrie,		3
That they may suffer like deserved paines,		
For these be they that worke her infamie.		226
Thus having blazed false Poets in their hew,		240
Deare Poetrie (though loth) I bid adiew.		228
		220
[39]		
As Poetrie in poesie I leaue,	[p. 20]	229
I see seauen sinnes which crost seauen Liberall Arts,		
Which with their fained shew doe men deceaue,		
And on the wide worlds stage doe play their parts:		232
As thus men follow them, they follow men,		
They moue more matter to my plaintife pen.		234

and his pens complaint.	119
[40] These mincing maides and fine-trict truls, ride post To Plutoes pallace, like purueyers proude;	235
Thither they leade many a damned ghost, With howling consorts carroling aloude: And as one after one they post to hell,	238
My plaintife pen shall their abuses tell.	240
[41] First praunceth Pride with principalitie, Guarded with troupes of new-found fashions: Her hand-maides are Fancie and Vanitie:	2.11
These three a progresse goe throughout all nations;	244
And as by any towne they passe along, People to see them gather in a throng.	246
[42] Now fine-ruft Ruffines in their brauerie Make cringing cuts with new inuention: New-cut at Cardes brings some to beggarie,	247
But this new-cut brings most vnto destruction: So long they cut, that in their purse no groate	250
They leave, but cut some others purse or throate.	252
[43] Bedawbd with gold like Apuleius Asse, Some princk and pranck it: others, more precise,	253
Full trick and trim tir'd in the looking-glasse, With strange apparell doe themselues disguise. But could they see what others in them see,	256
Follie might flie, and they might wiser bee.	258
[44] Some gogle with the eyes, some squint-eyd looke, Some at their fellowes, squemish sheepes-eyes cast,	2 59
Some turne the whites vp, some looke to the foote, Some winke, some twinke, some blinke, some stare as fast. The summe is infinite; eye were a detter,	262
If all should answere I, with I the letter.	204

[45]		
Many desire to foote it with a grace,	[p. 22]	265
Or Lion-like to walke maiesticall:		
But whilst they striue to keepe an equipace, Their gate is foolish and phantasticall.		268
As Hobby-horses, or as Anticks daunce,		200
So doe these fooles vnseemely seeme to praunce.		270
		-,-
[46]		0 = =
I will not write of sweatie, long, shag haire,		271
Or curled lockes with frisled periwigs: The first, the badge that Ruffins vse to weare,		
The last, the cognisance of wanton rigs.		274
But sure I thinke, as in <i>Medusaes</i> head,		274
So in their haires, are craulling Adders bred.		276
		-1-
[47]		
Men, <i>Proteus</i> -like, resemble euery shape, And like Camelions euery colour faine;		277
How deare so ere, no fashion may escape		
The hands of those whose gold may it attaine:		280
Like ebbe and flow, these fashions goe and come,		200
Whose price amounteth to a massie summe.		282
· _		202
[48]		_
The sharp-set iawes of greedie sheeres deuoure,	[p. 23]	283
And seaze on euery cloath as on a pray,		
Like Atropose cutting that in an houre,		~ ~
Which weaters Lachese-like wrought in a day.		286
These snip-snap sheeres, in all shieres get great shares,		0.0
And are partakers of the dearest wares.		288
[49] .		
When fig-tree leaves did shroude mans nakednesse,		289
And home-spun cloath was counted clothing gay,		
Then was mans bodie clad with comelinesse.		

292

294

And honour shrouded was in rude array:

But since those times by future times were changed, Thousands of fashions through the world haue ranged.

and his pens complaint.	121
[50] Ambitious thoughts, hearts haughtie, mindes aspiring, Proud lookes, fond gates, and what not vndescreete, As seruants waite, mens bodie still atyring	295
With far-fetcht gewgawes for yong children meete: Wherewith whilst they themselues doe daily decke,	298
Brauado-wise they scorne to brooke the checke.	300
[51]	
Some couet winged sleeues like <i>Mercurie</i> , [p. 24] Others, round hose much like to Fortunes wheele (Noting thereby their owne vnconstancie),	301
Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach their heele. These Apish trickes vsde in their daily weedes,	304
Bewray phantasticke thoughts, fond words, foule deedes.	૩૦૦
[52]	
Bold Bettresse braues and brags it in her wiers, And buskt she must be, or not bust at all:	307
Their riggish heads must be adornd with tires,	
With Periwigs, or with a golden Call. Tut, tut, tis nothing in th'Exchange to change	310
Monthly, as doth the Moone, their fashions strange.	312
[53]	
It seemes, strange birds in England now are bred, And that rare fowles in England build their nest,	313
When Englishmen with plumes adorne their head,	_
As with a Cocks-combe or a Peacocks crest. These painted plumes, men in their caps doe weare,	316
And women in their hands doe trickly beare.	318
[54]	
Perhaps some women being foule, doe vse [p 25] Fowles feathers to shroude their deformitie: Others perchance these plumes doe rather chuse,	319
From weather and winde to shield their phisnomie. But whilst both men and women vse these feathers,	322
They are deem'd light as feathers, winde and weathers.	324

[55]		
Some dames are pumpt, because they liue in pompe,		325
That with Herodias they might nimbly daunce,		
Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,		_
And most in corked shooes doe nicely praunce.		328
But here I doubtfull stand, whether to blame		
The shoomakers, or them that weare the same.		330
[56]		
In countrie townes, men vse fannes for their corne,		33 I
And such like fannes I cannot discommend:		
But in great cities, fannes by truls are borne,		
The sight of which doth greatly God offend.		334
And were it not I should be deem'd precise, I could approue these fond fann'd fooles vnwise.		
		336
[57]		
A Painter lately with his pensill drew	[b se]	337
The picture of a Frenchman and Italian,		
With whom he plac'd the Spaniard, Turk, and Iew;		
But by himselfe he sat the Englishman. Before these laughing, went Democritus,	•	340
Behinde these weeping, went Heraclitus.		
		342
[58]		
All these in comely vestures were atired,		343
According to the custome of their land,		
The Englishman excepted, who desired With others feathers, like a Iay to stand.		_
Thus whilst he seeketh forraine brauerie,		346
He is accused of vnconstancie.		n (0
		348
[59]		
Some call him Ape, because he imitates; Some foole, because he fancies euery bable;		349
Some liken him to fishes caught with baites,		
Some to the winde, because he is vnstable.	1	
Then blame him not, although gainst Englishmen,		352
This Englishman writ with his plaintife pen.		354

and his pens complaint.		123
[60] But hush! no more; enough's enough; fie, fie, Wilt thou thy countries faults in verse compile? Desist betimes, least thou peccaui crie,	[p 27]	355
For no bird, sure, his owne nest will defile. Well, sith thou brak'st his head, and mad'st a sore,		35 ^S
With silence giue a salue, and write no more.		360
The world began, and so will end, with Pride; With Pride this poynt began, with Pride it ends: And whilst in pleasures Chariot she doth ride,		361
My plaintife pen, page-like still by her wends. Thus having painted out Prides roysting race,		364
At this poynts end, a periods poynt I place. $[62]$		366
Now pyning Enuie whining doth appeare, With bodie leane, with visage pale and wan, With withered face, and with vnkeamed haire;		367
She doth both fret and fume, sweare, curse, and ban: She fareth ill, when other men fare well,		370
Others prosperitie is made her hell. [63]		372
She peepes and pries into all actions, And she is neuer well but when she iarres: She is the mother of all factions,	[p. 28]	373
She broacheth quarrels, and increaseth warres: Anger is hot, and wrath doth roughly rage,		376
But nothing, Enuies heating hate can swage. [64]		378
This Trull inticed <i>Pompey</i> to contend, And with great <i>Caesar</i> civill warres to move: This dame allured kings their lives to spend		379
In bloodie broyles, and braules deuoyd of loue: Incensing subjects gainst their gouernours,		382
Sonnes against Sires, Captiues against Conquerors.		384

[6 ₅]		
As Iron doth consume it selfe with rust,		38 5
By eating which, it selfe it still doth eate,		
So doth the enuious man soone come to dust,		
And doth consume himselfe whilst he doth fret.		388
Thus Enuie still conspires to end his life,		
That liuing with another, liues at strife.		390
[66]		
We reade that Enuie twixt two men did grow,	[p. 29]	391
And that the one of them one eye would lose,		
So that he might pluck both eyes from his foe,		
And plucking both eyes out, his eyes might close.		394
O who would thinke, a man should beare the minde		
To lose one eye, to make another blinde!		396
[67]		
What trade so base but there is Enuie in it,		397
When Minstrels with blinde Fidlers daily striue?		
What strife is there, but Enuie doth begin it,		
When iusling Iacks, to walls their betters driue?		400
The truth hereof I shall not neede to sweare,		
Sith Hesiode old hereof doth witnesse beare.		402
[68]		
What is the cause that many mop and moe,		403
That many scoffe, and scorne, and gibe, and iest,		
With rimes and riddles rating at their foe,		
Flouting the base, and powting at the best?		406
What is the cause? the cause one line shall show:		
Enuie is cause, which in mens hearts doth grow.		408
[69]		
Knowledge, within the hart of man doth dwell;	[p 30]	409
And loue, within the liuer builds his nest:		
But Enuie, in the gall of man doth swell,		
And playes the rebell in his boyling brest.		412
O would to God men had no gall at all,		
That Enuie might not harbour in the gall!		414

and his pens complaint.		125
[70] Enuie and Charitie together stroue Which of them two a man should entertaine:		415
The one with spight, the other sought with loue; The first in gall, the last in hart would raigne: So long they strone, that Enuie lost the field,		418
And Charitie made Enuie captine yeeld.		420
[71] Enuie, adiew, and welcome Charitie, The bond of peace and all perfection, The way that leades to true felicitie,		42 I
Filling the soule with most divine refection. Enuie shall goe, Ile cleave vnto thy lore,		424
Thee will I serue, and thee will I adore.		426
[72] Next followes Wrath, Enuies fierce fellow-mate, Attired in a roring Lions skin,	[p. 31]	427
Ietting along with a giant-like gate, Which aye a tyrant terrible hath bin. A butcher like, within his hands doth beare		430
Their harts, which he with woluish teeth doth teare.		432
[73] Wrath moued <i>Herod</i> with blood-thirstie hart To slaughter infants from their mothers brest		4 33
Like lambes scarce ean'd, or doues new-hatcht to part, And with liues losse to leaue both damme and nest. O, had King Herod knowne what would ensue,		436
He had not done what he did after rue.		438
[74] He shed their blood; their blood did vengeance craue; They first too soone, he last too late did dye; They led the way, he followed to the graue;		439
Both they and he a pray for wormes did lye. Yet thus they differ, wormes them dead did eate,		442
But him aline the wormes did make their meate.		444

[7.5]		
- · · · ·	p 32]	445
Making him wish that Rome had but one head,		
That he might smite off that head at a blow,		
Whose pompe he saw, like many heads to spread:		448
But whilst he thought Romes heads in one to lop,		
Romes heads in one, his flower of life did crop.		450
[76] Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete		45 I
		451
(Which may be called smite-field properly);		
Wrath is the cause that maketh euery streete		
A shambles, and a bloodie butcherie,		454
Where roysting ruffins quarrell for their drabs,		
And for sleight causes, one the other stabs.		456
[77]		
Wrath puffes men vp with mindes Thrasonicall,		457
And makes them braue it braggadochio-like:		
Wrath maketh men triumph Tyrannicall,		
With sword, with shield, with gunne, with bill and pike:		460
Yea, now adaies Wrath causeth him to dye		
That to his fellow dares to give the lye.		462
[78]		
	r 33]	463
Whose embrewd standard is with blood dyed red;	. 5/2	, -5
Of many he spares few, and kils the most,		
And with their corps his bloodie panch is fed.		466
Tara tantara, sa, sa, kill, kill, he cries,		7
Filling with blood the earth, with scrikes the skies.		468
		•
[79] Wraths fierce fore-runner is Timeritie,		.6-
And after Wrath Repentance shortly followes:		469
The first rides gallop into miserie,		
The last procures sadnes, despayre, and sorrow.		
Who therefore doe desire to liue at rest,		472
Let them not harbour wrath within their brest.		
The state of the body wrath within their prest.		474

and his pens complaint.		127
[80]		
Wraths contrarie is Lady Patience,		475
Who conquers most when she is conquered,		113
She teacheth beasts that they by common sence		
Might teach to vanquish, being vanquished.		478
Rammes running back with greater force returne,		• •
And Lime most hot, in most cold springs doth burne.		480
[81]		
	. 34]	481
Neerely akind, because she is so kinde;		-1
She is most like a Doue in countenance,		
And like an Angell in her humble minde;		484
All Phænix-like she is but rarely found,—		
Would God she might be seene on English ground,-		486
[82]		
Then naked swords themselues would neuer cloath		487
With wounded skinnes of men whom men did maime;		70%
Then quarrellers would, after quaffing, loath		
With stabs and strokes to kill or make men lame.		490
Then, then I say, swords might in scabberts sleepe,		
And some might laugh which are constrainde to weepe.		492
[83]		
As thus my pen, writing of Vice, spares none,		493
It brings into my sight a lazie Gill,		190
A sleeping sluggard and a drowsie drone,		
Which snorts and snores, and euer sitteth still:		496
Some call her Sloth, some call her Idlenesse,		
A friend to neede, a foe to wealthinesse.		498
[84]		
	35]	499
Bearing a spawne of many new-bred sinnes:		122
Many she lures, and many she entices,		
Whereof most part is trapped in her ginnes:		502
She is the But at which foule Lust doth shoote,		-
And where she toucheth, there she taketh roote.		504

[85]		
I once did heare of one Lipotopo		505
(Whose pace was equall with the shell-housde snaile)		
That to a fig-tree lasily did go,		. 0
Whose broad-leau'd branches made a shady vaile:		508
Thither this lusking lubber softly creeped,		
And there this lazie lizard soundly sleeped.		510
[86]		
But as one Goffo by the fig-tree went,		511
He wakened him from out his drowsie sleepe,		
And earnestly did aske him what he ment,		
Vnder that fig-tree all alone to keepe.		514
As thus he did Lipotopo awake,		
Yawning and gaping, thus he idly spake:		516
[87]		
Good friend, it is a paine for me to speake,	p. ₃ 6]	517
Because I vse nothing but only sleeping:		
Yet vnto thee my minde Ile shortly breake,		
And shew the cause of my here daily keeping:		520
The cause is this, that when these ripe figges fall,		
My gaping mouth might then receive them all.		522
[887]		
As thus he spake, Goffo from off the tree		523
Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it;		JJ
Which when he gan to feele, my friend (quoth he),		
I pray thee stirre my lawes that I may glut it.		526
Goffo, admiring this his lazinesse,		J c
Left him as he him found, in idlenesse.		528
		J
[89] O would my pen were now a pensill made,		400
And I, a Poet, might a Painter bee,		529
That picture-like this patterne might be laide		
Before mens eyes, that it their eyes might see;		- 00
By which they, seeing Sloths deformitie,		532
Might flie from sloth, and follow industrie.		E0.4
		534

and his pens complaint.		129
Now doth appeare dame niggard Auarice, Who, being loden with gold, gapes for gold:	[p. 37]	535
She raiseth cheape things to the highest price, And in Cheapside makes nothing chaepe be sold, Which coyne, her chests fild full, fulfill her eye,		538
Whilst poore folkes perish in great miserie.		540
She hath been troubled long with one disease, Which some a Dropsie call, or drouth of gaine; She drinkes and drinkes againe, yet cannot ease		541
Her thirstie sicknesse and her greedie paine: Still is she sicke, yet is she neuer dead,		544
Because her sicknesse still is nourished.		546
[92] Her bodie grosse, engrosseth all the corne, And of the grossest wares makes greatest gaine: Yea, Grocers now adaies, as men forlorne,		547
Auerre that they gainst her haue cause to plaine: Yet doth she liue, yet doth she tyrannize,		550
Because her coyne her works doth wantantize.		552
This Auarice a cosin-germane hath, Which many Londoners call Vsurie, Which like a braue comptroller boldly saith,	[p. 38]	553
She will bring England into miserie, Who, vnder colour of a friendly lending,		556
Seemes of her bad trade to make just defending.		558
[94] They hand in hand doe walke in euery streete, Making the proudest Caualiers to stoope:		559
If with their debtors they doe chaunce to meete, They pen them vp within the <i>Poultries</i> coope. And if for gold lent, men would counters pay,		562
In Woodstreets Counter there them fast they lay. SHARSPERE'S ENGLAND: TELL-TROTH.	9	Ţ64

[95]		
Now Charitie, which is the band of peace,		565
Is turned to a Scriueners scribling-band,		
To Indentura facta, or a lease,		
To racking houses, tenements and land:		568
All this can gold, all this can siluer do,		
And more then this, if neede require thereto		570
[96]		
From whence comes gold, but from the earth below?	[p. 39]	57 I
Whereof, if not of earth, are all men made?		
Like will to like, and like with like will grow;		
Growing they florish, florishing they fade.		574
But where are gold and men? in hell; wher's hell?		
On earth, where gold and men with gold do dwell.		576
[97]		
The prouerbe old I doe approue most true,		577
Better to fill the bellie then the eye:		311
For whilst rich misers feedes on monies view,		
Sparing they liue in wilfull penurie:		580
Yea, more then this, they live vpon a crust,		Ü
Whilst in their heaped bags their gold doth rust.		582
[98]		Č
Come, plaintife pen, and whip them with thy rod,		58 <i>3</i>
And plainly tell them their Idolatrie,		503
Which make their gold their loue, their life, their god,		
Which with their gold desire to liue and die.		586
Tell them, if to no better vse they turne		300
Their gold, they with their gold in hell shall burne.		588
		500
[99] Thus leaving Versia and America		.0
Thus leaving Vsurie and Auarice, As Sathans limmes, or fire-brands of hell,	[p. 40]	589
As rauening wolues that liue by prejudice,		
Or greedie hogs that on mens grounds do dwell:		
I post to that which I had almost past,		59 ²
But nowe have overtaken at the last.		
are are no along outliers of the 1936		594

and his pens complaint.		131
The name of her whom heere I meete withall Is Gluttonie, the mother of excesse,		595
Which, making daintie feasts, doth many call To eate with her the meate that she did dresse: Who being set to eate her toothsome meat,		598
Eating doth eate and neuer cease to eate.		боо
[101] This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie In sauced meates and sugred delicates,		601
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie To spend their substance vpon whorish mates: That by their lauish prodigalitie		604
She may maintaine her fleshly vanitie.		606
[102] With gobs she fils and stuffes her greedie gorge, And neuer is her gaping stomacke fed, Bits vnchaw'de in her bulke, as in a forge,	[p. 41]	607
Kindle the coales whereof foule lust is bred: Thus doe we see how lazie gluttonie		610
Comforts her selfe with Ladie Lecherie.		612
[103] One other mate she hath, call'd Dronkennesse, A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,		613
Which neuer drinks but with excessivenesse, And drinkes so long vntill her paunch is full; She drinkes as much as she can well containe,		618
Which being voyded, then she drinkes againe.		019
[104] But when the drinke doth worke within her head, She rowles and reekes, and pimpers with the eyes;		619
She stamps, she stares, she thinks white black, black red, She teares and sweares, she geeres, she laughes and cries; And as her giddie head thinks all turnes round,		622
She belching fals, and vomits on the ground.		624

[105]		
Some men are drunke, and being drunke will fight; Some men are drunke, and being drunke are merrie;	[p. 42]	б25
Some men are drunke, and secrets bring to light;		
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are sorie:		628
Thus may we see that drunken men haue passions,		0.20
And drunkennesse hath many foolish fashions.		бзо
•		050
[106]		_
Fishes that in the seas doe drinke their fill,		бзі
Teach men by nature to shun drunkennesse.		
What bird is there, that with his chirping bill		
Of any liquour euer tooke excesse?		634
Thus beastes on earth, fish in seas, birds in skie,		
Teach men to shun all superfluitie.		636
[107]		
Would any heare the discommodities		637
That doe arise from our excesse of drinke?		• •
It duls the braine, it hurts the memorie,		
It blinds the sight, it makes men bleare-eyd blinke;		640
It kils the bodie, and it wounds the soule;		•
Leaue, therefore, leaue, O leaue this vice so foule!		642
[108]		•
Now, last of all, though perhaps chiefe of all,	[p. 43]	643
My pen hath hunted out lewde Lecherie,	LP. 431	043
Which many sinnes and many faults doth call		
To bee pertakers to her trecherie:		646
Her loue is lust, her lust is sugred sower,		040
Her paine is long, her pleasure but a flower.		648
		040
[109]		
When chast Adonis came to mans estate,		649
Venus straight courted him with many a wile;		
Lucrece once seene, straight Tarquine laid a baite,		
With foule incest her bodie to defile:		652
Thus men by women, women wrongde by men,		
Giue matter still vnto my plaintife pen.		654

and his pens complaint.		133
[110] Thousands of whores maintained by their wooers, Entice by land, as Syrens doe by Seas, Which, being like path-waies or open doores,		655
Infect mens bodies with the French disease: Thus women, woe of men, though wooed by men,		658 660
Still adde new matter to my plaintife pen. [III] Whilome by nature men and women loued,	[p. 44]	661
And prone enough they were to loue thereby; But when they Ouids ars amandi proued, Both men and women fell to lecherie: By nature sinning, art of sinne was found		664
To make mans sinne still more and more abound.		666
[112] If that I could paint out foule lecherie In her deformed shape and loathsome plight, Or if I could paint spotlesse Chastitie		667
In her true portraiture and colours bright, I thinke no maid would euer proue an whore, But euerie maid would chastitie adore.		670 672
[113] Then maried men might vild reproaches scorne, And shunne the Harts crest to their hearts content, With cornucopia, Cornewall, and the horne,		673
Which their bad wives bid from their bed be sent: Then should no olde-Cocks, nor no cocke-olds crow, But everie man might in his owne ground sow.		676 678
[114]	[p. 45]	679
Then light-taylde hufwiues, which like Syrens sing, And like to Circes with their drugs enchant, Would not vnto the Banke-sides round-house fling,	LP• 453	
In open sight, themselues to show and vaunt: Then, then, I say, they would not masked goe, Though vnseene, to see those they faine would know.		682 684

[115]		
But in this Labyrinth I list not tread,		685
Nor combate with the minotaure-like lust;		
Hence therefore will I wend by methods thread,		
And wend I will, because needs wend I must:		688
Farewell, nay fare-ill, filthie lecherie,		
And welcome vndefiled chastitie.		690
[116]		
Vesta, I do adore thy puritie,		691
And in thy Temples will I tapers beare;		
Thou, O Diana, for virginitie,		
Shalt be the matrone of my modest feare,		694
That both in one, both beeing Goddesses,		
May of my maden-head be witnesses.		696
[117]		
O may my flesh, like to the Ermiline,	[p. 46]	697
Vnspotted liue, and so vnspotted die,		
That when I come before the sacred shrine,		
My vntoucht corps themselues may guiltlesse trie;		700
Then shall I glorie that I haue bin taught		
To shun the snare wherein most folkes are caught.		702
[118]		
Thus hath my pen described, and descry'd,		703
Sinne with his seuen heads of seauen deadly vices,		7 - 5
And now my plaintife pen hath verified		
That sinne, from vertue, mortall men entices:		706
If any wicked Momus carpe the same,		,
In blaming this, I passe not for his blame.		708
[113]		-
Dictator-like I must confesse I write,		709
And like a Nomothetes criticall,		,,,
Perhaps my pen doth crabedly endite		
In plaintife humors meerely Cinicall:		712
But sooth to say, Tom-teltroth will not lie,		•
We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.		714

and his pens complaint.		135
[120]		
And for because my pen doth liquour want,	[p. 47]	715
Heere (being drie) he willing is to rest,		
Not for that he doth further matter want,		
For so to thinke, were but a simple iest:		718
And if (as he hath not) he haue offended,		
He hopes (as you) so he wilbe amended.		720

Finis.

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TOM of All Trades.

OR

THE PLAINE

PATH-VVAY TO

PREFERMENT.

BEING

A Discovery of a passage to Promotion in all Professions, Trades, Arts, and Mysteries.

Found out by an old Travailer in the sea of Experience, amongst the inchanted Islands of ill Fortune.

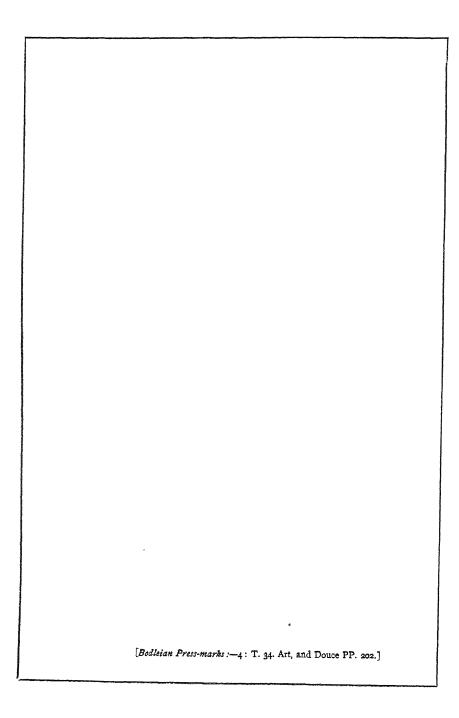
Now published for Common good.

THOMAS POVVELL.

Summum hominis bonum bonus ex hac vita exitus.

LONDON.

Printed by B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, for Benjamen Fisher, and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate-street. 1631.





The Epistle Dedicatorie.

Oore TOM was set on shore in Kent, And to the next good Towne hee went; At whose approach the Bosseldir Kept a most lamentable stirre, That TOM would offer to returne Through the good Towne of Syttingborne. Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe? And told him what the Statute was; 8. And like a Reverend Vestry wit Swore hee would not allow of it, But did advise him to resort To fetch his Passe at Tonstall Court. 12 Our TOM of all Trades hereupon Askt what was his condition Who was the Owner of that place, So farre in all the Countries grace? 16 For whom (as hee walkt on the way) He heard the poore so much to pray, The Rich to praise; And both contend, To whom hee was the greater friend. 20: Didst never meete his name there spread Where thou thy selfe didst vse to tread? ² No? not Sir EDVVARD HALES? Quoth he; What TOM of Odcombe may'st thou be? 24 Hee is a man scarce spends a minute But hath his Countries service in it;

2 page iv.

1 page iii.

Spends more to make them all accord,	
Then other Knights doe at their boord.	28
Hee call'd him Knight and Barronet,	
Both wise and Iust; And what more yet?	
He swore that if hee were but mist,	
The Countrey could not so subsist.	32
With that our TOM repaired thither,	
Conferr'd Report and Proofe together;	
And found Report had wrong'd him much	
In giving but an out-side touch,—	36
A tincture of a Painters trade,	
Where all was substance and in-layd.	
Then TOM resolv'd to walke no farther	
To finde a Father or a Mother;	40
No other Patron would hee seeke,	
But tender all at this Knights feete:	
If hee accept what's well intended,	
Our TOM of all Trades travaile's ended.	44
Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.	

THO: POVVELL.

[This text, though copied from the Douce copy in the Bodleian, has now been collated with 4: T. 34. Art. Variations in the Douce copy:—

p. 137, l. 4, It it true

p. 143, l. 3 from the bottom, gift

, last line, incumbent (with small i).

p. 144, l. 2, Dilecct

, l. 14, Alchermi

, l. 16, Parsonadge

,, last line but 2, inmediately p. 146, last line but 2, Cantiocluerum

last line but I, Yf

p. 147, l. 4, Person

,, l. 10, for Induction.

,, l. 12, peculiar.]



TOM of all Trades:

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-

WAY TO PREFERMENT.



RINITY Terme was now ended²; For by description of the time it could bee no other parcell of the yeare. In that the Scriveners at *Temple-barre* had no imployment, but writing of blanke Bonds and texting of Bills for letting of Chambers in *Chancery*-

lane. The Vintners of Fleetstreet discharged theyr Iourneymen; A generall humility more then usuall possest the Cookery of Ram-Alley. The Ostlers of Holborne had more than ordinary care to lay up theyr Ghuests bootes, rather for feare of theyr slipping out of Towne than for any good observance towards them. And your Countrey Attorneys would no longer by any 3 meanes endure the vnwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinarie. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his Horse out of the stable, strove who should first be gone. And amongst the rest, my selfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse Overcount mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of *Highgate* hill I overtooke a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, riding homeward, whom I well knew; Him I saluted cheerefully, and he received melovingly. But in travayling together (Me thought) he was not Master of that mirthfull disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his

house and London. I gave him to vnderstand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; And withall desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartible to a freind of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from London (It is true), from the Terme (It is certaine true), from London and Terme. True and certaine in nothing but expences in all things; yet I would have you know that it is neither the Thunderclap of dissolving an Iniunction, nor the Doomesday of a Decree, nor Counsaylors Fees, nor Attornies Bylls, in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my deare friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me vp into the very Spheare, where Ioue himselfe sits to bid all his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember mee of Children, sixe Soones and ¹ three daughters, of whom I am the vnhappy Father. In that, besides the scars which my vnthriftines hath dinted vpon their fortunes, the wounds of vnequall times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all hope of outlining the low water ebbe of the evill day; all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study, or industry are bereft them. The common vpon which industry should depasture is overlayd; Numerousnes spoiles all, And poverty sells all at an vnder value.

In this case (Sir) what can be aduisd? Wherevnto I thus replyed. Sir, I have heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true and even levell of the declention of arts, the distent of trades & trading, the poverty of all professions, and the destemper, not of ours only, but of all Christian clymates at this present, tending rather to a more contagion in the generall ayre then a calmer temparament (for ought that yet appeareth): as for the stormynesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domestick, let vs leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it vnto the proper Pylates, Masters, and Marryners, who have the charge to attend the line or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure our selues to partake in their boone voyage, if they suc[c]eed well,—as they may be certaine to suffer in the same Shipwracke with vs, if wee miscarry.

I addresse me to give you the best advise I can, touching the preferment of every of your ¹six sonnes and three daughters, in manner following.

It is true in most Gentlemen, and very likely in you, as in others, living onely vpon the revenew of lands, That the height of their Husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, That their credit may hold vp and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest Sonne claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your life time to make the rest of your Children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, It is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire, commonly striving to vphold the reputation of his Ancestors, He abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much vpon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To bee a *Minister* (with them) is to be but a *Pedant*; A *Lawyer*, a *mercenarie* fellow; A Shop-keeper, a man most subject to the most wonderfull Cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much vpon his Wives well bearing and faire carriage. What is, then, to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst ² able to shift, should bee by you provided for in the first place, while your Land is of virgin reputation, while it is chast, and vndishonested by committing of single fornication with Countrie Creditors, that trade without sheets (that is) by *Pole deed*, only for saving of costs; or, at least, before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a Citie Scrivener. But especially, before it grow so impudent as to lie downe in the Market place, and to suffer everie pettic Clarke to bring its good name vpon Record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets,—As in this Statute, or in that

Iudgment: Take heed of that by any meanes. And bee sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed vp to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his blood begin to feele the heate of any affections kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a blacke wrought Wastcoate with a white apron, & a loose bodied gowne without an apron. Put him of in his best clothes, (I meane) in the assurance of your lands; sell him at the highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children. Not share and share like, but to every each one, the more, according to their defects: Let impotencie, decreptnes, ilfavourdnes, and incapacitie, rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comlinesse, activitie, beautie, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living according to any prescript order or method of your ¹ owne election, But according to their inclination and addition, seeing that everyone, by instinct of nature, delighteth in that wherein he is like to bee most excellent. And delight and pride in any thing undertaken, makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the *Ministerie*, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized, betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no, not so much as Hospitably by any meanes.

In the first place, take your direction for the SCHOLLER.

His Education.

His Maintenance.

His Advancement.

Or his Education. The Free-Schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.

¹ page 6.

So many of them also afford some reasonable meanes in ayde of young Schollers, for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the Founders or Benefactors of such Schooles.

¹Some of them be of the foundation of some Kings and Queenes of this Land; and they are commonly in the gift of the King, or his Provost, or Substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some Bodies or Societies incorporate; And they are commonly in the gift of such Masters, Wardens, Presidents, and their Senior fellowes; such chiefe officers of any other title, or such Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or such Opposers, Visitants, or Committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: And they are, for the most part, in the gift of the Executor, Heire, or Feoffees of such Donor, according to the purport of his Will, or Grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.

Westminster.

Winchester.

The Merchantaylors Schoole, London.

The Skynners at Tunbridge.

Sutton's Hospitall.

St. Bartholomews.

And very many other the like.

Briefly, few or no Counties of this Kingdome are unfurnisht of such Scholes. And some have so many, that it is disputable whether the Vniversities, with the Innes of Court and Chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free-Schooles, againe, have *Schol²lerships* appendant unto them, in the one of the Vniversities, or both.

To which, upon Election yearely, they are removeable, As

From Eaton to Kings Colledge, Cambridge.

From Westminster to Trinity Colledge, Cambridge, or Christchurch, Oxon.

10

From Winchester to New Colledge, Oxon.

¹ page 7. ² page 8.

From the Merchantaylors to St. Iohn's, Oxon. And the like, from many the like.

Some other Free-Schooles have pensions for preferment of their Schollers, and for their maintenance in the Vniversitie.

Some Companies Incorporate (especially of London, having no such pensions in certaine) doe usually out of the Stocke of their Hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons (upon my knowledge) who doe voluntarily allow yearely exhibition of this nature.

Now if you would know how to finde what is given to any such Free-Schooles, and in whose disposing they now be,

In the Tower of London, till { For Grants and for License the end of Rich. the 3. } of Mortmaine, inde.

And in the Chappell of the Rolles. { And for the like. } { And for the like. }

In the Register of the Prerogative Court, for such things devised by Will, by King, Queene, For such Grants given by Will. or Subject.

And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the Tower and the Prerogative, and in the Rolls and Prerogative respectively.

For the time since our reformed Church of England began here,

 $Search \begin{cases} Doctor \\ Willets \\ Synopsis. \end{cases} For all from the King, or from any other.$

In divers of our Chroni- For the like. cles.

Next, adde certaine helpes for discovery and attayning thereof. Irst (if it may be) procure a sight of the Liedger Bookes, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keepe for their owne use.

Next, be acquainted with some of the Disposers themselves.

Next, take the directions of the Master or Teacher of such Free-Schooles.

Especially to be interessed in the Clarkes or Registers of such Societies as have the disposing of any such things.

Also to use means by Letters of persons powerfull and usefull to such disposers.

¹For (indeed) it is not the sound of a great mans name to a Letter in these dayes, wherein they are growne so common and familiar to our Societies (of *London* especially), can prevaile so soone as the Letter subscribed by the *Lord Maior*, or other eminent Officer of the Citie, to whose commandement they be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, For discoverie and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose, as I take it.

Now suppose your sonne is brought to the Vniversitie by Election or as Pensioner.

The first thing you must take to your care is: In case he come not by election, but as a Pensioner to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a Schollership in the Colledge where you bestow him.

Or in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a Schollership, place him with a Senior fellow of the house (as Tutor), though you allow to some Iunior fellow somewhat yearely for reading unto him.

This Senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest, as, with the speaking merit of your sonne, may worke your desire.

² Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out, being eyther in the gift of some

body Incorporate, Or of some private person, Wherein the discovery is to bee made (as aforesaid).

If you sue to a Company consisting of many persons Tradesmen, you must enquire who bee the most potent Patritians, and best reputed Vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an Assistance of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to speake sensibly to these two or three is no Mysterie; You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; And, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes. Onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and Armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter. Doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you, this, with a Bucke at the Renter Wardens feast, may come somewhat neere to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend Divine, as he doth most respect and frequent. For other, let let can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charitie are equally and temporately mingled in him; And be sure, withall, that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde. For a Fooles pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his Schollership, seeing the Schollership keepes him company no farther than to the degree of Master of Arts, and a quarter of a yeare after, in those Colledges, where Schollerships are longest lived, And in some not so long.

In some Colledges The Fellowship followes the Schollership of course; and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But

in the most it is not so, but comes by Election. Which Election passeth by the Master and Senior Fellowes, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be Elected will beare it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the Master hath a double voyce, and in some places hee hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea, if there be but one at sometimes.

In Colledges, the letters of great persons, especi[ally] of the Lords grace of *Canterburie*, and the Vniversitie Chancellor, have beene of great prevailance; But it is not so now in these dayes.

¹There bee beneficiall gradations of preferment likewise, for Fellowes in their Colledges; as Lecturer, Deane, Bowser, Vicemaster, and Master. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they find themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such who live cloystered like Votaries; who have Sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keepe out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their bookes, and have an excellent activity in handling the fox tayle, such as hold no honour like to Supplicat reverentijs vestris; And to be head Bowsier of the Colledge, as good as to be Chiefe Butler of England.

These preferments of the Colledge, all but that of the Master, comes of course by order and antiquity. Therefore, no meanes but patient abiding, needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the Cloyster into the Commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of Advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministrie.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther then next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong 2 to their owne Colledge, and are in the guift of their Master and Senior fellowes (as most Colledges have divers such); and amongst them, which are void at the present, or whose Incumbent is not like to live long. And if he

find out any such, than, if he know not, after so long continuance among them, to speake in his Seniors owne *Dilect*, let him never travaile beyond *Trumpington* ¹ for me.

More indigitly, For attaining of such a Benefice, let him enquire where the Mattens are read with Spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted vp into the pulpit, or the like, and make a way for Succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a Benefice together with his fellowship, or a Pension, for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony, whereby they are so wedded to the Colledge.

Next, he must clime vp to the maine top of Speculation, and there looke about him to discover what Benefices are emptie abroad, where the Incumbent lives only vpon the Almes of Confectio Alchermis; Or where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage and a Prebendarie into a Deanarie and a Donative, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case, by any meanes.

² For Benefices abroad.

Benefices a broad are in the gift of

The King imediately,
Or the Lord Keeper for the King:
Some Lord Bishop:
Some Deane and Chapter:
Some Bodie incorporate:
Some Parish:
Some Private Patron.

You shall find in the Tower a collection of the Patent Rolls gathered of all Presentations made by the King in those dayes to any Church Prebendarie or Chappell, In right of the Crowne, or otherwayes, from i. of *Edward* the first, till the midst of *Edward* the third.

The King himselfe, only and immediately presenteth in his owne right to such Benefices as belong to him, and are aboue twenty pounds value in the *first Fruits* Bookes.

¹ Near Cambridge.

For attayning of any which, I can advice you of no better course, than to learne the way to the backe stayres.

The Lord Keeper presents for the King to all such benefices as belong to his Majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookes.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are Incumbents in any of these,

Search

The first Fruits Office.

The Clarke, who hath the writing of the Presentations.

¹ The Lord Keepers Secretarie being.

Where note, that the King hath used very seldome to grant any such living in Reversion.

And the Lord Keeper now being, His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good to provide for mans merit, and cherish industrie in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a request ² of this kinde without trespasse to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning Benefices in the Presentation of any of the Lords Bishops.

Note, that most Bishopricks in *England* have presentation to divers Benefices belonging to their Seas.

For the number and present estate of these

Search

Their owne Leidgers.

Their Registers.

Enquire of

Their Auditors.

Their Stewards of their Courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of theyr bookes of this kind, in the hands of the heyres or Executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is Chaplaine to such a Lord Bishop hath, for the most part, the best meanes, accesse, and opportunity, to ataine to such a Benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this

1 page 16.

2 orig. repuest

Patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in Court, may doe some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes ¹ of attaining any Benefice in the Presentation of any *Deane* and *Chapter*, are to be used with them respectively, as with the Bishops.

With every Deane and Chapter are likewise divers Prebendaries, to be obtained of their gift after the same manner, and by the same meanes also.

The other bodies Incorporate, besides those of *Colledges* and *Deanes* and *Chapters*, have many of them (especially of London and some subordinate Societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers Benefices.

Also some Parishes, by prescription, doe present to their owne perochiall Benefices. And many Patrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the Parishioners, upon their hearing, and allowing, and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such suitors, and no otherwise; divers governors, and gradations of the lands of divers Hospitals, and Mesons de dieu, have like right of presentation to Benefices, as have other bodies Incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the like.

In Parishes and Companies of Tradesmen Incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your Alderman of the Ward, his Deputie, your Common Councell-man, Yea, sometime that petty Epitomie of Wardemote Enquerst, that little busic morsell of Iustice (the Beadle of the Ward), will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The Probotory Sermon, that must be made upon such tryall before such an Auditorie, would be according to the capacitie in generall, But more ²especially according to the humor and addiction of those whose wits the rest have in singular reverence, As Mr. Francis Fiat, a good vnderstanding Fishmonger (I assure you); you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a Wine Cooper, and his judgement better in Claret then in Contioclerum a great deale.

If your sonne vpon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, In regard that they are so hallow mouthed,

let him be sure, though he misse the Benefice for want of preperation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselues to bring him in as a *Lecturer*, which is a thing they reverence farre beyond the Parson of the Parish, by many degrees.

Lastly, for private Patrons and the Benefices in their guifts,

Search,

The Bishops Register:

for Institution and Presentation.

The Archdeacons Register:

for the Induction.

The Archbishops Register:

if it be a Peculiar.

It was my chaunce lately to see a booke of all the Benefices within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, with the manner of their tything in every each one respectively. In which I find that there are, or should be, with the *Register* of every Lord Bishop, seaven Bookes kept for Entrie of the matters and busines of their Diocesse, of which this of Benefices is ¹ the cheife.

² The like I saw formerly of the Diocesse of St. *Davids*, which confirmes mee in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other Diocesse.

And seing that severall private³ patrons are of severall dispositions; some more Lucrative and Covetous, Others more charitable and religious; I can give you no other rule of attaining the Benefice than this, viz.

That your sonne bring with him abilitie of learning, Integritie of life, and conformitie of behaviour, according to the order of the Church establisht amongst vs; and these shall make his way with the good and generous Patron. But for the other patron, it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very litle for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truely he is indifferent; for his part, very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe thus (if he meane to be presented), according to present necessitie: He must

¹ in in orig. ² page 19. ³ privare in orig. ⁴ whith in orig.

both speake and prove himselfe a man indued with good gifts, For he shall have to deale with a Patron of a quick Capacitie, more dexterous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in deliverie.

Be this Patron what he will, your comfort is, the Benefice must be fild, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case, (For seldome doth the Clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accostomed houre.)

¹Lapse by reason of Simony, and Lapse for not presenting in due time; Both offer advancement to learning; But the first is as hard to discover as a witch, And the second as rare to find out as a faithfull fiduciarie or a fast Freind.

The degrees of rising in the Ministrie are not easier knowne then practized by the industrious man.

Breifly, if all Church livings in *England* were equally² distributed, There is noe one of the Ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good Livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God, That it might please the right reuerend Fathers of the Church the Lord Bishops, That they would once in every of their times cause a true Catalogue of all the Benefices within their severall Diocesse, with the names of the Patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the first fruits, for the better information of all such as deserue, and would gladly attaine to, some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by hauing recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit downe in their wants, having good meanes to many private Patrons, onely for lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note that it is an vsuall thing in private Patrons³ to graunt reversion and Advowson of such livings.

My selfe intended heretofore to collect all such Benefices, with their Patrons, into a certaine Cal⁴lender, for such direction (as aforesayd), and made some passage into it. But the farther I went, the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved, that without the Bishops assistance it cannot be done.

And so much for the Ministerie.

¹ page 20. 2 epually in orig. 3 Parons in orig. 4 page 21.

The Lawes promotions follow.

By
Civill Law
and
Common Law.

Por breeding of your youth in the Civill Law, there are two Colledges of especiall note in our Vniversities: the one is Trinitie-hall in Cambridge; the other is New-Colledge in Oxford.

I remember me not of any Free-Schoole in *England* that have any place appendant in *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*. But in new Colledge of *Oxford*, the Free-Schoole of *Winchester* hath claime both of Schollerships and Fellowships, the whole Colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confest, the charge of breeding a man to the Civill Law is more expensive, and the way more painefull, and the bookes of greater number and price, than the Common Law requireth. But ² after the Civill Lawyer is once growne to Maturity, His way of Advancement is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the Common Lawyers; and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no Sollicitors to trample betweene them and the Clyent. So that the Fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The Preferments at which they may arrive are these:

Archdeacon.

Commissarie, where they have Commissarie Officiall.

Iudge, and Surrogate.

Advocate for the King.

Chancellor to the Byshop.

Mr. of the Chancerie.

The Kings Proctor.

Advocate, and Proctor at large.

¹ MS. note in the Art copy, rather Alsoules by farre.

² page 22.

In these Courts, viz.

The High Commission.

The Delegates.

The Prerogative.

The Consistorie.

The Arches.

The Bishops Courts.

The Archdeacons Courts.

Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials Court.

The Admiraltie Courts.

The Court of the Kings Requests.

In times past

The countenance of some Byshop, especially of the ¹Lord Arch-byshop, upon a Civilian, will much advance his practice as an Advocate, and give him promotion² as a Iudge.

There are under the greater officers aforenamed divers other inferiour Officers: as

Register.

Arctuarie.

Examiner.

The number of the Doctors, (though I finde them never to have beene limited,) Yet it is certaine that the time was within memory of man when the house of their *Commons* did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and dyet. And as for the number of *Proctors*, they were of late times limited. How it is now, I know not.

For the Common Law.

Por breeding of Students at the Common Law, take directions for their method of studie out of that Tractate which Mr. Iustice Dodridge did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely (for my part) I doe much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger Students. First, in the Innes of Chancery; there to be the better prepared 5 for the Innes of Court. And this must needs be the

¹ page 23.

² promorion in orig.

³ preparded in orig.

better way, seeing too much liberty at the first prooves very fatall to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commend also the breeding of some Com¹mon Lawyers in this kinde, viz.

That when they have beene admitted first into an Inne of the Chancerie, they have beene withall entred as Clarkes in the office of some Prothonotarie of the Common-Pleas, to adde the skill of the Practicke to their speculation. And if a Student be thus bred, by his foundation in the one, and his experience in the other, he shall with more facilitie than others, who step into the Inne of Court at first, attaine to an abilitie of practise.

Besides other ordinary requisite parts and Arts in a Common Lawyer, Skill in the *Records* of all Courts of *Record*, and in other *antiquities* of President, With some Reading in the Civill Law, also will much inable him.

The Common Lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse. The charge most at the first. For after he hath spent some few yeares effectually, He may attain to the imployment of some private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater Counsalle, whereby he shall adde both to his meanes and knowledge.

It is true, that I have knowne some Attorneyes and Sollicitors put on a Counsailors gowne without treading the same usuall path to the barre (as aforesaid). But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast suites had thrust himselfe in amongst the *Nobilitie* at a Court Maske, where, pulling out his Handkercher, hee let fall his Thimble, and was so discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foote, till the Guard ² delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cryed, "farewell, good feeble!"

If the Common Lawyer be sufficiently able in his profession, he shall want no practice; if no practice, no profit.

The time was that the younger Counsaile had some such helpe, as

To be a Favourite,

A Kindred,

To marry a Neece, Cosin, or a Chamber-maide.

But those dayes be past, and better supply their roomes.

¹ page 24; pages 24, 25 misnumbered in orig.

² page 25.

As fellowes of Colledges in the Vniversities get pensions or Benefices to adde to their livelyhood, So Barresters and Counsailors of the Innes of Court advance their meanes by keeping of

Courts of Mannors,
Lects and Barrons,
Swanimootes of Forrests,
Stannaries,
Cinque Ports, &c.

By places of

Iudges of Inferiour Courts. As
London, and other like Corporations.
The Virdge.
The Tower of London.
St. Katherines, neare the Tower.
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clinke.

Wentworth, and like Liberties.

1 By office of

Recorder of some Co[r] porate Towne.

Feodarie of some Counties.

The Kings Counsayle in the Marches of Wales, or at Yorke, or Iudge, or Counsayle of some Countie Pallatine.

The greater places of preferment for Common Lawyers are

The Iudges at Westminster and elsewhere.

The next are all the severall Officers of the Courts of Westminster, and elsewhere.

All which you shall finde set forth breifly in *Smiths Commonwealth* of *England*, and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together, afford suffic[i]ent maintenance for thousands of persons, who may bee here well prouided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of yonger brothers, shew what meniall *Clarkeships* of large exhibition are vnder the great Officers of the Land, the Iudges, the *Kings Counsayle*, and other Officers which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it

would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment, especially vnder the Lord Keeper, as Secretaries for Chancerie busynesse, and Spirituall promotions, the Comm[i]ssion of the Peace, Iniunctions, the Dockquetts. And other the like vnder the Lord Treasurer, as Secretaries for the businesse of the Realme and the Custome-house; besides the Inlets to so many preferments about the Customes and Escheators; places vnder the Lord Treasurer, vnder the Chauncellor of the Exchequer, Duchie and Principalitie of Wales, and Duchie of Cornewall, as Seale keeper, Secretary, &c.

Vnder the Master of the Court of Wardes, as Secretarie; vnder the Iudges, as Marshall; Clarke of the Bailes, &c.; Vnder the Barrons of the Exchequer, as Examiner; Clarke of the Bailes, and other Clarkes.

Vnder the Kings Attourney Generall, as Clarke of the Pattens, Clarke of the Confessions and entries, Clarke of the References, Booke bearer. Vnder the Sollicitor Generall: Clarke of the Patents, Booke bearer. Besides many other Clarkes vnder the white staues of the Court, and in the Counting house, and many seuerall offices.² All which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for feare that what I well intend for generall good, would be taken in offence for private prejudice. But for the Clarkeships of the Kings houshold, examine farther the Blacke booke in the Exchequer.

The Phisition followes.

At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene Elizabeth, divers Commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace, all such of the Clergie as would not conforme to the reformed Church, one amongst others was Convented before them, who being asked whether he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so consequently was adjudged to lose his benefice and to be deprived his function; wherevoon, in his impatience, he said,

¹ page 27. ² offices in orig. ³ whehter in orig. ⁴ page 28.

'That if they (meaning the Commissioners) held this course it would cost many a mans life.' For which the Commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words,¹ tending to the raysing of a rebellion or some turnult in the Land; for which he should receive the reward of a Traytor. And being asked whether hee spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and tooke vpon him the Iustification thereof; 'for, said he, yee have taken from me my living and profession of the Ministrie; Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turne Phisition; and before I shalbe absolute Master of that Misterie, (God he knowes) how many mens lives it will cost. For few Phisitions vse to try experiments 2 vpon their owne bodies.'

With vs, it is a Profession can maintaine but a few. And divers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing their travailes than in discerning their patients malladies. For it is growne to be a very huswives trade, where fortune prevailes more then skill. Their best benefactors, the Neapolitan, Their grand Seignieur. The Sorpego, their Gonfollinere; The Sciaticke, Their great Marshall, that calls the Muster Rolle of them all together at every Spring and fall,—are all as familier to her as the Cuckow at Canck-wood in May; And the cure of them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as good practize as the best of them for those kind of diseases.

Marry, for Womens griefes ⁵ amongst *Phisitions*, the *Masculine* is more worthy then the *Feminine*.

Secrecie is the cheife skill, and virilitie the best learning, that is required in a Womans Phisition. But I never read of many of those to be long liued, or honestly wiued hitherto, in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of *Phisitions*, who are to be had in singular reverence, and be vsefull to mankind next to the Divine. Indeed, I rather pitty them; and pittying, smile to see how pretily these young game-

wrods in the Douce copy.

2 axperiments in the Douce copy.

3 benefactor in the Art copy.

4 page 29.

5 greifes in the Douce copy.

sters, Male and Female, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of Patientrie in all places wheresoeuer.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens liues this abused opinion had of such Gamesters, costs; Because they be not Masters of that Mysterie, and that science which requires the Greeke tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of Philosophie, Historie of all sorts (especially naturall), knowledge of all vegetatives and Minerals, and whatsoever dwels within the foure elements; Also Skill in Astronomy, Astrologie. And so much of the Iudicialls 1 vpon all manner of Calculations as may be well warranted; with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young travailing Phisition and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their meanes of Advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be Phisition of some Colledge in one of the Vniuersities, (as divers Colledges have such places).

Phisition to the King or Queenes person.

Phisition to either of their housholds,

Or to some Hospitall, (as most have such).

Or to some great persons who may preferre them hereafter, and be somewhat helpefull in the meane time.

To a good old Vsurer, or one that hath got his great estate together vnconscionably: For they feare nothing but death, and will buy life at any rate. There is no coward to an ill Conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with Gallants given to deepe drinking and surfeyting; For they are patients at all times of the yeare.

Or a Gentlewoman that would faine vse the meanes to bee pregnant.

Or your Lascivious Lady, and your man in the Perriwigge, will helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

²A Citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it. And if all faile, And the *Bathe* will affoord no roome; Let them finde out some strange water, some unheard-of Spring. It is an easie matter to discolour or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it

¹ page 30. ² page 31.

makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a Superstitious opinion in it, Goodfellowship shall uphold it, And the Neighbouring Townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice followes.

The first question is, to what Trade you will put your Son, and which is most worth a first trade you will put your Son, and which is most worthy of choice. For the Merchant, it requireth great stocke, great experience in Forraine estates, And great hazard and adventure, at the best.

And this is not all: For it depends upon the Peace of our State with forraine Princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique; Or, who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our Besides that, in time of Warre, they can hold no Trade abroad. certainty of dealing, or supplying their Factorie in parts beyond the Seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to bee stayed, Marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times; Besides the burthen of Custome and Imposition which all ¹States impose more or lesse; So that unlesse wee have peace with such Neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinarie and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some Merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the streame of State is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing; they that gaine then (Sir), if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as Merchants, but as men of Warre, which occupation a man may learne without serving seaven yeares Apprentiship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as Merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a Society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power in the most dangerous times; And if such Societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. they be otherwise allowable, I leave to consideration.

For the Shopkeeper, his welfare, for the most part, depends upon the prosperity of the Merchant, For if the Merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes; Little Skill, Art, or Mystery, shall a man learne in Shopkeeping. A man shall never

in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his owne Meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit betweene the Mart and the Market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judiciall of the falling and rising of commodities, And the casualties that they are subject vnto, (especially) in time of Warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those Trades which aske most with an Apprentice, are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stockes of setting up. Amongst Trades, give me those that have in them some Art, Craft, or Science, by which a man may live and be a welcome ghuest to all Countries abroad, and have imployment in the most stormy times at home, when Merchants and Shopkeepers are out of use, (as)—

An Apothecarie.

A Druggist.

A Chirurgion.

A Lapidarie.

A Ieweller.

A Printer.

An Ingraver in Stones and Mettall.

One that hath skill in seasoning of Shipwood.

A Carpenter of all sorts, especially of Shipping.

A Smith of all sorts, especially of Clockes, Watches, Guns, &c.

A Planter, and Gardner of all sorts.

An Enginere for making of Patars, and the like Engines of Warre. And

Hot Presses for Cloth, &c. And

Engines to weigh any Ship, or Guns that are drowned, &c. Skrues, &c.

A maker of all sorts of Instruments for Navigation, Compasses, Globes, Astrolates.

A Drainer of grounds Surmounded.

A Sale-maker, and

² A maker of Cordage, Tackle, &c.

A Lymner.

A Clothier, a Clothworker, and a Dyer.

1 page 33.

² page 34.

A Taylor, Shooe-maker, Glover, Perfumer, and Trimmer of Gloves.

An Imbroiderer.

A Feltmaker, a Glasier, and one that can paint in Glasse.

Briefly, any Manufacture or trade, wherein is any Science or Craft.

Onely those Trades are of least use and benefit, which are called Huswives Trades (as *Brewer*, *Baker*, *Cooke*, and the like), Because they be the skill of Women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the Maker was before the Retaylor; and most Shopkeepers are but of a sublimated Trade, and retayle but as Attorneyes to the maker. But if the Maker (without dispute of Freedome in any Corporation) might set up Shop and sell his commoditie immediately, it would be a great deale better for the Commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficultie, burthen, or disgrace, for a Shopkeeper, yea, a Merchant, or a Gentleman, to have the skill, of some one of these Manufactures, besides his Revenew, or profession, to accompany him what fortune soever may carry him into Countries unknowne.

To my knowledge, a great *Earle* lately of this Land, did thinke it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the Craft and trade of a Farrior, wherein he grew excellent.

¹And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a Treatie wherein our Embassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our King and Kingdome with the Native commodities thereof, The *Dutch* (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our King was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the Merchant Royall that comes to his Profession by travaile and Factory, full fraught, and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking. But not the hedge-creeper, that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop with a Cryll under his arme, That leapes from his Shop-boord to the Exchange, and after he is famefalne and credit crackt in two or three other professions, shall wrigle

into this and that when he comes upon the Exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing, whether is the more profitable house-keeping, either with powder Beefe, 1 & brewes, or with fresh Beefe and Porridge; though (God wot) the blacke Pot at home be guilty of neyther: And so he departs when the Bell rings, and his guts rumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The Merchant Royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poore patching interloping Lapwings that have an adventure of two Chaldron of Coles at New-castle; As much oyle in the *Greeneland* fishing as will serve two Coblers for ² the whole yeare ensuing. And an other at *Rowsie*, for as many Fox-skins as will furre his Longlane gowne, when he is called to the Livorie.

The Shopkeeper is a cleanly Trade, especially your Linnen-Draper; which company hath the greatest Commonalty, and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by Charter, for (indeed) they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better incouragement of men of Trade, Know that in most Companies of Tradesmen incorporate (especially in *London*), there is provision made by divers benefactors of their Societies deceased for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stockes of money remaining in the hands of some few of the chiefe of their Company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their owne consideration,) But surely the poorer sort complaine much of the misimployment of it generally

There is but one little Crevis to peepe in at their dealings, And that is betweene their Masters conscience & the Clarks connivence, which is so narrow, that you may sooner discern the South Pole through the maine Center, than discover their mysterie.

Indeed, in times past, the Clearkship of the Company hath beene bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the Company for his livelyhood. But the Attorney and Scrivener, and some petty Clarkes of the Citie, by the Letters of, &c. pre-occupy those places.

³And here I could wish, for righting of the dead, and releeving

¹ Salt beef.

of the poorer members of such Companies who are kept in ignorance, That some paines were taken in the *Prerogative* Office, for the collating of all guifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their Grand Masters to account, if they abuse the trust in them reposited in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined, And (God knowes) how poore a remaine of life is left in my Glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search (*Gratis*) for all Grants and guifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my Lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity. Provided alwayes, that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come

The Navigator

Ext to the man of Trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the Navigator his due, for that his profession is as full of science, as usefull to the Common wealth, and as profitable to himselfe, as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing, and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his Compasse; the knowledge of languages, and dispositions of forreigne Nations where ¹ he travailes and trades, he may rise from a Squabler to a Master, from a Master to be a Generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The Nauigator his way of Advancement and imployment is, by

The Lords of his Maiesties privie Councell,
The High Admirall,
Commissioners for the Kings Navy,
Chiefe Officers of the Navyes of Societies,
incorporate,
Private Merchants and the like,

Private Merchants and the like, With the Trinitie house.

But if he get to be an Owner, he may trade as free as bird in ayre,

1 page 38.

as a man of warre, or a man of trade and Commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not vpon the incorporated Companies, especially the *minotaur*. He cannot do amisse (with Gods assistance¹). He may liue merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere Carryer of home commodities, Imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

The Husbandman may likewise for the happie content of the life, and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to inuite a right good mans sonne to vndergoe the profession.

Your sonne whom you intend for a Huslandman, 2 must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together. For if the Gentleman be predominant, his running Nagge will out run the Constable. His extraordinary strong Beere will be too headstrong in office of Church-Warden. And his well mouthed dogges will make him out-mouth all the Vestrie. But if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlicke. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the vnhealthfullest corners of the Kingdome are the most profitable for Fermors. He must especially aime at a Tenancie vnder the Crowne, or some Bishops Sea, Deane, and Chapter, some Colledge, some Companie, some Hospitall, or some other bodie incorporate. Wherein the Auditor or Receiver must be his best Intelligencer and Director. Young vnthrifts acquaintance, when they first arrive at the age of one and twentie, And good old conscionable Landlords, that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their Grandfathers, or hope to be deliuered out of Purgatorie by their Tenants prayers, will doe well.

These professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receive all fixed starrs, and such dispositions as nay be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition.

Fit it with the profession of a Courtier.

For n overflowing, and Ranker disposition, make him a Souldier.

¹ a sistnace in orig.

But, beyond this, he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or prouidence.

The Courtiers wayes of advancement be these:

BY the generall and most ancient rule of Court, if you would have him to be preferred unto the Kings service in the end, And, in the meane time, to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, Place him with one of the *White Staves* of the Houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can), put him unto the Lord High Steward his Service (who, amongst the white Staves), hath the chiefest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayres.

If the High Steward be full, seeke to the Lord Chamberlaine, who hath the chiefe power to preferre to the places above stayres, and to the Wardrobe.

And, if there be no entrance there, then seek to the Treasurer of the Houshold, and next to the Controllor. The Master of the Houshold. The Coferer, and the rest of the greene Cloth.

The Master of the Horse preferres to the Avenanarie and other Clarkeships offices, and places about the Stable.

The principall Secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the Clarkeships in the office of the Signet, and the Lord privie Seale into the privie Seale office.

The Master of the great Wardrobe into the Clarkeships and offices there. The Master of the Robes. The Master of the Jewellhouse. The Keeper of the privie Purse. The Master of the Toyles ² and Tents, with some other the like, have whilome beene the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the King, in divers beneficiall places and Clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The Lord *Treasurer* without the house, preferres to his Majesties service, in most places in, or about the Custome-houses, in all the parts of *England*.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old, for preferment into the Kings service, for these kind of places.

¹ page 40.

The yeomen of the Guard were wont to come in, for their personage, and activitie, by their Captaines allowance.

And the Bed-chamber mens servants, ever were in way to be preferred for Pages of the privie Chamber, or Groomes, or placed at the back staires, not of right, but of custome.

For the Clarkes of the Houshold, they were wont anciently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the *Black Booke*; but how it is now, I know not.

For your better satisfaction of Court Offices, their order and Fee, Search the Blacke Booke in the Exchequer, and in the Court; And for all Offices whatsoever under the King throughout the whole Kingdome, Either in Castle, Parke, Chase, Court, or house of the Kings royalty or place soever, with the then Fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, Whereof many hundred Copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and 1by him delivered to the late Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie. And so much for the Courtier.

The Souldier followes.

A Nd the question is first.

Whether the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, or a Land Soldier?

Questionlesse, the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, In this Kingdome of *England*, being an Island, for that he is more vsefull to his Country. More learning is required to be a Sea Soldier than to be a Land Soldier. A Sea Soldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the Land Soldiers pay will hardly find him sustenance. A Sea Soldier may now and than chaunce to haue a snapp at a bootie or a price, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever, where the Land Soldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher Towne at the most.

More valour is required in a Sea Soldier than in a Land Soldier; because the extremitie of the place requires it. The Sea Captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest man in the Ship; where the land Captaine vseth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and than retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at Sea, is by the Admiralls Countenance, and the *Vice Admiralls* in the Kings service, or in other service by the favour of great traded Merchants, and especially of your ¹bodies incorporate, and their chiefe Officers: and more especially their President and Treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth. If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect Nauigator, able to direct the Sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every Sayler to his charge. He should know what number of Saylors, what Ordinance, and what munition, should be requisite for a Ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull Caneere, and able to direct the Gunner², to say what quantity of powder a Peece of such bore and³ depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is vsed, whether the Peece be sound or honycombed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, And what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to ouersee and direct the *Purser* and *Steward* in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse, or too much percemonie.

Likewise skilfull in all manner of Fire-workes, and fitting Engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat, as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and he skilfull to controle every other in their places. He should be courteous and louing to his men; Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God. See that the divine service be duely read on board Evening and Morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A Sea Captaine is not a place for a young ⁴man to leape into instantly, and imediately out of a Ladies Vshership, a Great mans bed chamber, or a *Littletons* discipleship.

It is not your feathered Gallant of the Court, nor your Tauerne Roarer of the Citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I find not any Meson de dieu for relieving of mayned Marriners

1 page 43. 2 Gnnner in orig. 3 ond in orig. 4 page 44.

only, but that erected at *Chattam* by Sir *Iohn Hawkins* Knight, Treasurer of the Navie of the late Q. *Elizaleth*, wherein it was provided that there should be a deduction of Sixpence by the Moneth, out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same, Which I could wish were aswell imployed as collected.

The Land-Souldier followes.

I f the Land-Souldier thinke to thrive and rise by degrees of service, from a Common Souldier to a Captaine, in this age, (alas) hee is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete, and growne out of use. Doe what he can doe in Land-service, hee shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and Satiate himselfe upon a Pay day.

But if hee be of Kinne, or a favourite to some great Officer, hee may carry the Colours the first day, bee a *Lieutenant* the second, and a Captaine before he knowes how many dayes goe to the weeke in their Regiment.

The Land-service, where a man may learne most experience of Warre discipline, is in the *Low-Countries*, ¹by reason of the long exercise of Warres and variety of Stratagems there.

Beyond that, Northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your Sonne turnes his face to the South, the more profitable the Land-service is.

Lastly, if hee have no friend or kindred to raise him in the Landservice, I assure you that there is no Law against buying and selling of Offices in the *Low-Countries*, for ought that I have read; Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the Souldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds hee can reckon about him.

All the wayes of reliefe for him that I can number are these:

A poore Knights place of *Windsor*; If the Herald report him a Gentleman, And the Knights of the Honourable Order of the *Garter* will accept him.

¹ page 45.

- A Brother of Suttons Hospital; If the Feoffees have not Servants of their owne to preferre before him.
- A Pensioner of the County; If the *Iustices* find him worthy, And that hee was prest forth of the same County.
- Saint Thomas in Southwarke, and St. Bartholmews, Smithfield, onely till their wounds or diseases be cured, and no longer; And that if the Masters of the sayd Hospitals please to receive them.

For the Savoy, where Souldiers had a foundation, I know none now.

¹And other Houses appropriated for reliefe of Souldiers, now in use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished, The *Templarij* are gone, The Knights of St. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* forgotten, That famous House upon *Lincolne greene* is rac'd to the ground, And many the like, now better knowne by the *Records* than the remaines of their ruines, with their Revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first foundation to private and peculiar Inheritances, which I pity more than the dissolution of all the Monasteries that ever were.

Heere, you see, is preferment enough for your sixe Sonnes, though you bestow every one upon a severall Profession; Onely take this generall Rule for all, viz.

To what course soever your sonnes shall betake them, Bee sure that they all have *Grammar* learning at the least, So shall they bee able to receive and reteyne the impression of any the said Professions. And otherwise, shall scarce possibly become Masters in the same, or any one of them; Or if they doe, It will bee with more than ordinary paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next place.

Or theyr Portions I shewed you before, how and when to raise them; That is, by the Marriage of your eldest Sonne, or out of that part of your personall estate which you may spare without prejudice of your selfe.

1 page 46.

¹For their breeding.

I would have their breeding like to the *Dutch Womans* clothing, tending to profit onely and comelinesse.

Though she never have a dancing Schoole-Master, A French Tutor, nor a Scotch Taylor to make her shoulders of the breadth of Bristow Cowsway, It makes no matter, For working in curious Italian purles, or French borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. In stead of Song and Musicke, let them learne Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia, let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female Poetresse at any hand. Let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnesse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arreigning of mens affections at their flattering faces: This is not the way to breed a private Gentlemans Daughter.

If the mother of them be a good Huswife, and Religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two forth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good Merchant, or Citizen of civill and Religious government, The other in the house of some Lawyer, some Iudge, or well reported Iustice or Gentleman of the Country, where the Servingman is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement, for Sempstrie, for Confectionary, and all requisits of Huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company and unfitting libertie, which ² are the overthrow of too many of their Sexe.

There is a pretty way of breeding young Maides in an Exchange shop, or St. Martins le grand; But many of them get such a foolish Crick with carrying the Bandbox under their Apron to Gentlemens Chambers, that in the end it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their bandbox makes such a goodly show.

And in a trade where a woman is sole Chapman, she claimes such a preheminence over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, eyther in retaile, or whole saile at any rate.

1 page 47.

The Merchants Factor and Citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your Daughters with their Societie.

And the *Iudges*, *Lawyers*, and *Iustices* followers, are not ordinary Servingmen, but men of good breed, and their education for the most part *Clarkely*, whose service promiseth their farther and future advancement.

Your Daughter at home will make a good wife for some good Yeomans eldest Sonne, whose father will be glad to crowne his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of Gentry.

The youngmans fingers will itch to be handling of Taffata; and to be placed at the Table, and to be carved unto by *Mistris Dorothie*, it will make him and the good plaine old *Ione* his Mother to passe over all respect of Portion or Patrimony.

For your Daughter at the Merchants, and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the City affords them varietie.

¹The young Factor being fancy-caught in his dayes of Innocency, & before he travaile so farre into experience as into forreigne Countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome, as no alteration of Climate can alter.

So likewise may *Thomas* the fore-man of the Shop, when beard comes to him, as Apprentiship goes from him, be intangled and belymed with the like springs, For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of your Clarkly men complaine the moysture of their palmes; Others the Sorpego in their wrists: both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light upom some Counsailor at Law, who may be willing to take the young Wench, in hope of favour with the old *Iudge*. An Attorney will be glad to give all his profits of a *Michaelmas Terme*, Fees and all, but to wooe her through a Crevice. And the Parson of the Parish, being her Ladies Chaplaine, will forsweare eating of Tithe Pig for a whole yeare, for such a parcell of *Glele* Land at all times.

And so much for your Sonnes and Daughters.

I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in Saint Albans, standing at his doore upon his left leg, like to the old Drummer of Parish²-garden, ready to entertaine us.

¹ page 49.

Therefore I will here conclude with that of the Poet,

-- Navibus atque

Quadragis petimus benevivere, quod petis hic est, Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

FINIS.

¹ LONDON,

Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET for Ben: Fisher, and are to bee sold at his Shop at the signe of the Tallot in Aldersgate-street. 1631.

[Cuttings from Booksellers' Catalogues, in the *Douce* copy: 1629. Powell (Thomas), Tom of all Trades. Rare and Extremely Curious, 21. 2s.

681. Do. neat, very scarce, 10s. 6d.

A copy of this uncommon Tract is priced 4l. 14s. 6d.
in Ford's Catalogue.]

¹ page 50.



THE GLASSE

of godly Loue.

Wherin all maried couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures:

Verye necessary for all maryed men and women, that feare the Lorde, & love his lawes, to have it in their Bedchambers, daily to looke in: whereby they may know, and do their duties each unto others, and leade a godly, quiet, and louing life tograthers, to the glory of God, and the good example of their Christian Bretheren.

Iames .1. See that ye be not only hearers of the worde, but also doers, least that therby yee deceaue your selues.

Coloffians .3. Aboue all thinges put on Loue, which is the band of perfection.





'To all Chriftian men and women that are maryed.

Forasmuch as the Diuel is most ready to make firife, where there ought to bee most loue; and hath, with heddy wilfulnesse, concupiscence, and ignorance, so blinded the hartes of those which line vnder the yoke

of Matrimony, that (as I may iudge by their fruites) there be very few that leade their lyues therein according to the lawes of Chrifte:—Therfore, (my deare & welbeloued Chriftians, which professe the Gospell) to the intent that you should liue therin, according to your profession and knowledge, I have here breefely and plainely set forth what it is, and how you ought to leade your lyues therin, accordinge to the Rules of the holy Scriptures, so that your pure and godly lyse may bee a good example, and also make such ashamed as would sclaunder the holy Gospell, and professours of the same; yea, and that their wonted worde (which is, 'marke these new men by their lyuinge') may sound to Gods glory, to the honour of his most holy worde, and praise of al them in Christ which do professe the same. Farewell in the Lorde.

¹ page 76.

[This Glasse of Godly Love forms pages 75—87 of my imperfect copy of a tract, stated by Mr W. C. Hazlitt to be unique, entitled The Schoole of honest and vertuous lyfe: Profitable and necessary for all estates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P. [Thomas Pritchard]. No date. The tract contains, p. 47—74, Also, a laudable and learned Discourse, of the worthynesse of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their singuler instruction, to choose them vertuous and honest Husbandes: But (most specially) sent written as a Iewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By her approoued freend and kinseman, I. R. [John Rogers]. Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, and are to be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. [1569.] 4to, black Letter, A.—L. in fours. Hazlitt.]

What Wedlocke is.

Ou fhall first vnderstande, that Wedlocke is an hie and blessed order, ordained of God in Paradise; which hath euer bin had in great honor and reuerence, wher [i] n one man and one woman are coupled and knit togeather in one slessed and body, in the feare and loue of God, by the free, louing, hartie, and good consent of them both, to the intente that they two may dwel togeather, as one sless and bodye, of one will and minde, in all godlynesse, most louingly to helpe and comfort one another, to bring forth children, and to instruct them in the lawes of God. Also, to auoyde Fornication and all vncleaneesse, and so in all honesty, vertue, and godlynesse, to spend their lives in the equall partakinge of all such thinges as God shall send them, with thankes gyuinge.

And, because that the Wife is in subjection to her Husband, I will begin with her, & shortly declare what dutie and obedience shee oweth vnto him, by the commaundementes of the Scriptures.

Ephe. 5. The duetie of the Wife to her Hustand.

Aynct Pawle fayth: Yee Wives, fulmit your felues to your owne Huslandes, as to the Lorde; for the Husland is the Wives head, as Christ is the head of the Congregation: Therfore, as the Congregation is in subjection vnto Christe, likewise let Wives be in subjection to their Huslandes in al thinges. So that the wife must bee obediente vnto her husband, as vnto Christ himselfe; whereout it foloweth, that the saide obedience extendeth not vnto any wickednesse or euill, but vnto that which is good, honest, and cumly. In assuch as God delighteth onely in goodnes, & forbiddeth the euill every where, it foloweth also, that the disobedience that a wife showeth to hir Husband displeaseth God no lesse then when he is disobeyed himself. For the wife ought to obey hir husband in all pointes, as 2 the Congregation

to Chrifte, which loueth Chrift onely; and aboue all thinges, shee is glad and willinge to suffer for Christes sake, shee doth all for the loue of him; Christe only is her comfort, ioy, and all togeathers; vpon Christe is hir thought daye and night; shee longeth onely after Christ, for Christes sake (if it may serue to his glory) shee is hartely well contented to die, yee, shee giueth ouer her selfe wholly therto, for Christes loue, knowing assuredly that hir soule, hir honour, body, lyse, and all that she hath, is Christes owne. Thus also must euery honest Wise submit hir self, to please hir Husband with all hir power, and giue hir selfe freely and willingly, to loue him and obey him, and neuer to forsake him till the houre of death.

And farther (fayth S. Peter:) Let the Wives be in subjection to their Huslandes, that even they which believe not the worde, may without the worde be wonne by the conversation of the Wives; while they behold your pure conversation coupled with feare; whose apparrell shall not be outward with brodred haire, and hanging on of Golde, either in putting on of gorgious apparrell; but let the hid man of the harte bee vncorrupt, with a meeke and quiet spirit, which spirit is before God much set by, for after this manner in the olde time did the holy Women which trusted in God tire themselves, and were obedient to their Huslandes; even as Sara obeyed Abraham, and called him hir Lorde; whose Daughters ye are as long as ye do well.

And Paule, speaking vnto Tytus (sayth hee): Let the elder Women be in such apparrell as becommeth holinesse, not beeing false accusers; not given to much Wine, but that they teache honest thinges to make the young Women soler minded, to love their Husbandes, to love their Children, to be discrete, chaste, huswifely, good, obedient vnto their Husbandes, that the worde of God be not evill spoken of.

VVhat a Wife ought to bee.

Ere may you learne, that a Wife ought to be difcret, chafte, hufwifely, fhamefast, good, meeke, pacient, and ¹ fober; not light in countenance, nor garishe in apparrell, with dyed or curled haire, painted nor pasted, but with a cumly grauitie and a sad behauiour of a constant minde, true tongued, and of few wordes, with such obedience in all godlynesse to her Husbande and head, as it beseemes

a Christian to have vnto Christ; and to the intente that the Husband in like case may learne his duetie, let him harken what Sainct Pawle sayth, and take heede that hee turne not his authoritie to tyranny.

The dutie of the Husband to his Wyfe.

H Vstandes, love your Wives (fayth hee), as Christ loved the Congregation, and gave him selfe to sanctifie it.

Now must you understande, that the Husbande is the Wiues head, as Christe is the head of the congregation; and Christ showeth to the congregation the fame thinge that the head showeth to the bodye; for like as the head feeth and heareth for the whole body, studieth and deuiseth for to preserue it in strength and life, euen so doth Christe defend, teach, and preserve his congregation. For hee is the eye, hart, wisedome, and guide therof; so ought Husbands (then) to loue their wiues, & be their heads in like manner to show them like kindenesse, and after the same fashion to guide them and rule them with discretion; for their preferuacion, & not with force or wilfulnesse to intreat them. And S. Pawle faith farther: So ought men to love their wives, as their owne lodies; he that loueth his wife loueth himself. For no man hath at any time hated his owne flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it, euen as the Lorde doth the Congregation. Therfore ought euery man most feruently to loue his wife, equally with himselfe in al pointes; for this is the measure of mutuall loue Matrimoniall, that either partie haue nothing fo deare that they can not be contented to bestow one vpon another; ye, and if neede should be, they should also not spare their owne liues one for another, no more then christ did for his congregation.

¹And like as when we repent and beleeue in the promife of God in Chrift, (though we were neuer fo poore finners), are as ritch as Chrift, & al merites ours; fo is a Woman (though fhe were neuer fo poore afore fhe was maried) as ritch as hir huſband, for all that he hath is hirs, ye, his owne bodye, and [ſhe] hath power ouer it, as faith Sain Et Pawle.

And if it so chaunce that you finde not your wife so perfect in all pointes as you would, or as your selfe; yet must you not dispise hir, nor bee bitteer nor cruell vnto hir for hir faultes, but gently and

louingly feeke to amend and win hir. For, like as Christe thought no scorne of his church, dispised hir not, neither forsoke hir for hir vncleanenes and sinnes; so should no christian man spurne at his wise, nor set light by hir, because that sometime she falleth, offendeth, or goeth not right; but even as Christ nourisheth and teacheth his church, so ought every honest husbande (also) louingly and gently to informe & instruct his wife.

For in many things (faith S. Peter) God hath made the men ftronger then the women, not to rage vpon them & to be tirantes vnto them, but to helpe them & beare their weakeneffe. Bee curteous therfore, (faith hee,) and win them to Chrift, and ouercome them with kindeneffe, that of loue they may obey the ordinance that God made beetweene man and Wife.

Oh how ashamed be those men to loke vpon this texte, which with violence in their furye will intreate their wives; no beast so beastly, for in the most cruelst way is not mete, as when the wife is sad and disquieted, then with spiteful wordes and wanton fashions, so provoking hir to anger. Where it is not the dutie of the husband, but rather ashamed to his owne head; likewise it is worship for a man to have the seare of the Lorde before his eyes, that he provoke not the plague of vengeance.

Let vs therfore haue humilitie in our hartes; For, as a wife man loketh well to his owne goinges, even so pleasant are the wordes spoken in due season, which moueth the woman in hir wrath vnto patience, whereof Salamon 1 sayth: Faire wordes are an Hony Combe, a refreshinge of the minde, and a health of the bones. For it is seldome seene that any beast is found in the cruest rage, that the Male doth ever hurte his Female; and how vnnatural a thing is it for a man to hurt his owne slesh and body! Who will violently revenge himselfe, yea, on his foote, if it chaunce to stumble, but wil not rather, if hee have an yll bodye, cherish it to make it better?

The firong (faith S. Pawle) ought to beare the frailenesse of the weake; let one fuffer with another; beare ye one an others burden, and so shall ye fulfill the lawes of Christ: and aboue all thinge (fayth S. Peter), Haue feruent love amongst you, for love covereth the multitude of faultes. So that love in all things and at all times ought to bee the 1 page 81.

whole doore and only inftrument to worke and frame all things betweene man and wife.

VV hat the Husland ought to bee.

BY all this may yee geather and learne that the man is the head, governour, ruler, & infirmster (with gentil worder and good gouernour, ruler, & inftructer (with gentil wordes and good example), the prouyder, defender, and whole comforte of the woman, and oweth vnto hyr most feruent loue and affection, all gentle behauiour, all faythfulnes and helpe, all comforte and kindenesse, as to him felfe, his owne flesh and body; so that vnder God there is no loue, no affection, no freendship, no nerenes of kin, to be compared vnto this, nor any one thing vnder the Sun, that pleafeth God more then man and wife that agree well togeathers, which liue in the feare of God. And how can that bee more lively expressed, then in that, that Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, and the holy christian Church, and the holy body of them both, are fet forth for an example or Mirror of the state of Wedlocke, or conjugal loue? a more holy, a more godly and purer example could not be shewed. Undoubtedly this doth plainely show, that loue Matrimoniall is most highly accepted afore God; and the 1 contrary must needes folow, that vnquietnes, hatred, ftrife, brawling, chiding, and frowardnes in Mariage, doth exceedingly difplease God, & is clearly forbidden by Sainct Pawle, where hee fayth: Let all bitternesse, fiercenesse, and wrath, roaringe, and curfed speaking, be put away from you: be ye curteous and louinge one to another, and merciful, forgeuing one another, even as God for Christes sake forgaue you. Surely it is an highe and pure loue, perfecte and conftant, that God requireth to be betweene maryed couples, and therfore ought they by all wayes, meanes, and labour to get, maintaine, and increase this exceding loue, and to eschue, forbeare, and cut of all things, that might occasion any parte of the contrary.

What maintaineth love and quietnesse in Mariage.

A Nd vndoubtedly there is nothing that longer maintaineth concorde and quietnes, nor more increaseth perfecte loue in Maryage, then fweet and faire wordes, gentle and freendly deedes, and with a louing patience to take all things to the best. Freely to breake

their mindes togeathers, and al things to be kept fecret, both 1 glad and willing to amend that is amisse, and aboue all thinge, not once one to heare yl of another, for S. Pawle warneth you that ye give no place to the backebiters, but take them as yll willers to you both, though that they be neuer to nere freendes or kin. And God fayth, A man shall forfake Father and Mother, and cleave vnto his Wife, and they two shalle one flesh, which in like cafe is mente to the Woman. Therfore ought no creature aliue to be in fuch efteemation, credit, fauour, and loue, as each of you with others. Also, to bee of a sober and temperate dyet, doth much farther a good agreement; and where the contrary is, there is much vnquietnesse. For Salomon askinge where is woe? where is ftrife? where is brawling? euen amongst those (faith hee) that bee euer at the Wine; therfore it is most cumly for christians to be temperate in dyet, tempe²rate in wordes, temperate in deedes, and temperate in all things, fo that at all times ye eschue al excesse and furfet, rage and fury, which makes no difference betwixt man and beaft, and all other things which may breed any part of vnquietnesse. For Salomon fayth: Better is a dry morfell with quietneffe, then a full house, and many fat cattell with strife. Therfore ought vee to exteeme and imbrace this concord and quietnesse, as the maintainer and onely vpholder of the whole felicitie in Mariage, which is engendred of feruent loue, faithfulnesse, and kindenesse, and maintained by the fame, wherin ye ought continually to walke in all chaftenes and purenes of liuing, which (affuredly) thineth as a most precious thinge in the fight of God, and in the commendacion of the same, fayth:

The commendacion of Chastitie.

Salomon in the Booke of Wifedome: O faire is a chaft generacion with vertue, for it is with good men, where it is present, men take example therat, and if it go away, yet they desire it; it is alwayes crowned and holden in honour, and winneth the reward of the vndefiled Battel; but the multitude of vngodly Children are vnprositable, and the things that are planted in whoredome shall take no deepe roote, nor lay any fast foundacion; though they be greene in the braunches for a time, yet shall they be shaken with the winde, for they stand not fast, and through the vehemency of the winde they

shal bee rooted out, for the vnprofitable braunches shall bee broken, their fruite shalbe vnprofitable & sower to eate, yee, meet for nothing; and why? all the children of the wicked must beare recorde of the wickednesse of their Fathers and Mothers, when they be asked, but t[h]o the rightuous bee ouer taken with death, yet shall hee be in rest.

Here may you fee how vile, filthye, and abhominable, Adultery, Fornication, and Bafferdy is, and how high in estemacion a chaste life is amongst all good and godly ¹ folke, and especially in the sight of God, to whom no secreat sinne is hid.

That maryed folke ought to have chaste manners and communication.

And as a chaft louinge life in Mariage is most commended, so ought ye to be of chast manners, to have chast talke, and to eschue all wanton fashions, vnclenly communication, filthy handling, and all vnseemelynesse, and to be the speakers and very doores of all vertue and godlinesse, for Sainct Pawle sayth: Be ye followers of God as deare Children, and walke in love, even as Christ loved you, and gave himselfe for vs an offering, and a sacrifice of sweete savour to God, so that fornication and all vncleanenesse, or coverousnesse, been not once named amongest you, as becommeth Saincts, neither filthy nor foolish talke, neither iesting, which are not cumly, but rather givinge of thankes: for this ye know, that whoremongers, eyther vncleane persons, or coverous persons, which is the worshippers of Images, shall have any entrance in the kingdome of God and of Christe.

Of temperance in Maryage.

A Lfo, there ought to be a temperance betweene man & wife, for God hath ordained mariage for a remedy or medecine, to affwage the heate of the burninge fleth, and for procreation, and not beaftly for to fulfill the whole luftes of the diuelish minde and wicked flesh; for, though ye have a promise that the acte in mariage is no sinne, if the man receave his Wife as a guiste given to him of God, and the Wife her Husbande in like case, as ye have a promise that yee sinne not when yee eate and drinke measurably with thankes givinge,

yet if yee take excesse, or vie it beastly, vilely, or inordinately, your mistemperance make[s] that yll which is good, (beeinge rightly vied, and that which is cleane, yee defile through your abusinge 1 of it: God hath not called you to vncleanenesse, but vnto holynesse, sayth S. Pawle): and farther (sayth hee), It is the will of God, even that you should bee holye, and that every one of you should know how to keepe his vessell in holynes and honour, and not in the lustes of concupiscence, as do the Heathen which know not God.

Also, Sainct Pawle willeth you that yee withdraw not your selues, nor departe not one from another, except it bee with the good confente of bothe, for a time to faste and to pray; which saftinge and prayer, I would to God were more vsed then it is, not as Hipocrites were wont, but as Christians ought, and are commaunded (almost) in every parte of the Scriptures; for they that in eating and drinkinge sulfill the whole lustes of the sleshe, cannot worke after the spirite; and as wee daylie and hourely continually sinne, so ought wee continually to praye and call for grace. And in all the whole Byble, you shal not finde a more godly example of maryage (which I would to God all maryed folkes would reade), then that of Tobiach and Sara, the Daughter of Raguell, which were knit togeather in fastinge and prayer, and oft vsed the same, lyuinge a godly, pure, and cleane lyse; for the which they obtayned the blessinge of God, and saw their Childrens Children to the fifte generacion.

The commendacion of Children.

Hildren (vndoubtedly) is the highest guift, and greatest treasure of this worlde, and maintenaunce of the same. For Children is the very sure band and last knot of loue Matrimonial; by the which the parents can neuer be clearely seperated a sunder; In assuch as that which is of them both cannot be deuided, seeing both haue parte in euery one. And children are their Parents cheese ioy, comfort, and selicitie next vnto God; their stay and staffe & vpholders of their age; and in their children do the Parents liue (in a manner) after their death. For they dye not all togethers, that leave collops of their owne sless alive 2 behinde them; and by their children (if they be vertuously and godly brought vp) then is God honoured, & the common

wealth aduaunced, so that the parents and all men fare the better by them. Your children (most affuredly) is the very blessing of god, for the which ye ought to giue him most hartie thankes, and be contented, and with such as hee doth sende you, bee they many or sew, Sonnes or Daughters. For if they be many, he wil prouide for them if they be faithful. If they be few, he may send you more, and giue you more iou of one daughter then of ten sonnes. Therfore, be content with his will, for hee doth all things for the best, and knoweth what is beste for you; giue him most hartie thankes for such as you haue, and be diligent to see them vertuously and godly brought vp; and in any case, suffer them not to bee ydell.

How children ought to bee brought up.

Por they that wil not worke (faith S. Pawle), let them not eate; therfore put them to learne some honest Science or Crafte, wherunto of nature they be most apt. For in that shal they most profite; in the which they may get their owne lyuinge, and serve the common wealth. And aboue all thing, let them first learne to know God & his most holy worde, which is the right pathe and highe way to all vertue and godlinesse, the sure Shielde and stronge Buckler to defende vs from the Diuell and all his cruell and craftie assaultes; give them daily godly and louinge exhortacions, suffer no vice to take roote in them, but rebuke them for their yll, and commend them in their well dooinge.

Prouide honeftly afore hand for all necessary thinges, both for them and all your household. For, saith S. Pawle to Timothie: If there bee any that provideth not for his owne, and, namely, for them of his householde, the same denyeth the fayth, and is worse then an Insidell.

¹ The order of your house.

F the Sparrowes may yee learne the order of your household: for as the Cocke flyeth too and fro to bring all thinge to the neast, and as the dam keepeth the neast, hatcheth and bringeth foorth hir yonge, so all prouision, and whatsoeuer is to bee doone without the house, belongeth to the man; and the woman to take charge within, to see all thinges conveniently saved, or spent as it ought, to bring

forth and nourish hir children, and to haue al the whole dooing of hir Daughters and women.

Also be louing vnto your children, and be not fierce nor cruell vnto them. For S. Pawle saith: Fathers, rate not your children, least they be of a desperate minde, but with discrete admonitions, and with your pure and good example of livinge (which is the cheefest perswasion), lead them to all vertue and godlynesse.

If all Parentes would vertuously bringe vp their children in the knowledge and feare of God, in the practice & exercise of some honest Science or Craft, Then should we not see so many ydell as bee; so many Vacabondes, Theeues, and Murderers, so many vicious persons of all degrees, nor such vngodlynes raigne. But then should wee see euery man honestly get his lyuing, preferring his Neighbours proffite as his owne; then should wee see all men rightly do their duties; then should loue and charity spring, and all godlynesse raigne; then should the Lawes and Magistrates be willingly obeyed, the common wealth slourish, and God rightly honoured, for in this point only, through the grace of God, consistes the amendment of all the whole worlde.

Therfore, (my deare and welbeloued Christians) feeing that in this bleffed flate of Matrimony, and godly householde of husband, wife, and children, confiftes (next vnder God) the cheefest and highest felicitie of this worlde, and maintenance of the same, wherein the common wealth is wholly aduaunced, and God most highly honoured, I 1 exhort you in the name of Iefus Christ, the Sonne of the liuinge God, that you walke worthely therin, accordinge to the will of Christ, which you professe without faining, and that you eschue all woorkes and deedes of the fleshe, which bee these, saith S. Pawle: Adultery, Fornication, vncleanenesse, wantonnesse, Idolatry, Witchcrafte, hatred, varyance, wrath, ftrife, fedition, fectes, enuyinge, murther, drunkenne se, gluttony, and fuch like; of the which I tell you before, as I have tolde you? in times past, that they which commit such thinges shall not inherite the kingdome of God. Therfore, follow yee the spirit and workes of the same, which bee, (sayth S. Pawle): Loue, ioy, peace, longe fuffering, gentilnesse, goodnesse, faithfulnesse, meekenesse, temperance, and And yet once agayne I exhort you with the exhorta-Such like.

cion of S. Pawle: If there be among st you any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfortable love, if there be any felowship of the spirit, if there be any compassion of mercy, fulfill you my ioy, that ye draw one way, having one love, beeing of one accorde, and of one minde, that nothing bee done through strife or vaine glory, but that in meekenesse of minde, every one esteeme other better then them selfe, and so shal you leade a ioysull, quiet, and godly life in this world, and after, through lesus Christ, come to the life everlasting, with God the Father, to whom bee all honour and glory. Amen.

Rom. 10. If the roote bee whole, the braunches shall bee whole also.

FINIS.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

IN THE

GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE.

Title page, p. 177, Jam. i. 22; Col. iii. 14.

- p. 179, Yee Wives, &c., Eph. v. 22-4.
- p. 180, Let the Wives, &c., 1 Pet. iii. 1—6; Let the elder Women, &c., Titus ii. 3—5.
- p. 181, Husbandes, love your Wives, &c., Eph. v. 25; So ought men, &c., Idem. 28-9; his owne bodye, &c., I Cor. vii. 4.
- p. 182, For in many things, &c., I Pet. iii. 7, 8? Faire wordes, &c., Prov. xvi. 24; the strong, &c., Rom. xv. 1; let one suffer, &c., I Cor. xii. 26? beare ye, &c., Gal. vi. 2; and above all thinge, &c., I Pet. iv. 8.
 - p. 183, Let all bitternesse, &c., Eph. iv. 31.
- p. 184, A man shall forsake, &c., Gen. ii. 24; For Salomon askinge, &c., Prov. xxiii. 29, 30; Better is a dry morsell, &c., Prov. xxii. 1; Salomon in the Booke of Wisdome, Wisdom iv. 1—7.
 - p. 185, Be ye folowers, &c., Eph. v. 1—5.
- p. 186, God hath not called you, &c., I Thess. iv. 7; It is the will of God, &c., Idem. 3—5; Also, Sainct Pawle, &c., I Cor. vii. 5.
- p. 187, For they that wil not worke, &c., 2 Thess. iii. 10; If there bee any, &c., 1 Tim. v. 8.
- p. 188, Fathers, rate not your children, &c., *Eph.* vi. 4; Adultery, &c., *Gal.* v. 19—21; Love, &c., *Idem.* 22.
- p. 189, If there be amongst you, &c., Philipp. ii. 1—3; If the roote, &c., Rom. xi. 16.

NOTES.

p. xiii. John Lane and Milton's father. "Besides these, there remains, as evidence of Lane's perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the Museum [Royal MS., 17. B. xv.], dated 1621, and entitled Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized. In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is—specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering Those sweet parts Meltonus did compose, As wonder's self amazed was at the close, Which in a counter-point maintaining hielo 'Gan all sum up thus ÷ Alleluiah Deo."

But, more interesting still, another of Lane's manuscripts—that of "Guy of Warwick"—furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed "Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico, in poesis laudem;" that is, "John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend in praise of his poetry." The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. So here it is:—

"If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick! For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic, Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light: Heralds' records, and each sound antiquary, For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought, To satisfy those which pravaricari; Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought; Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments, Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy, With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents, To exemplify the flower of chivalry: From cradle to the saddle and the bier, For Christian imitation all are here."

^{1 &}quot;Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet; and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in connexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally."—1859. D. Masson's Life of Milton, i. 42-3.

p. xiii. John Lane's Triton's Trumpet. "Phillips... omits 'Triton's Trumpet,' undoubtedly by Lane, and dated 1620, in which the death of Spenser in 1599 is mentioned, with all the particulars of his sufferings and poverty, and the vain wish of the Earl of Essex to relieve them. ('Life of Spenser,' edit. 1862, p. cli)."—J. P. Collier, Bibliographical Catalogue, i. 448.—F.

p. xvii. note 1. Powell's Welch Bayte. 5to Decembris

Valentine YT IS ORDERED that he shall presently bring into the hall, to be used Symms according to the ordonance in that behalf. Thirtie bookes of the welshbate. and all the ballades that he hath printed of the Traytours lately Arrayned at Winchester.

Valentine also YT is ordered that he shall pay xiiis iiijd for a fine for symms printing the same book and ballad without Licence. And not to meddle with printing or selling any of the same bookes or ballads hereafter.

Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, iii. 249. See also ii. 837.

p. xxiii. T. Powell's Mysterie of Lending and Borrowing. Here is "The Authors Invocation.

"Hou spirit of old Gybbs, a quondam Cooke, Thy hungry Poet doth thee now inuoke, T-infuse in him the iuyce of Rumpe or Kidney, And he shall sing as sweet as ere did Sidney: I am not so ambitious as to wish For black spic'keale, or such a pretious dish, As Dottrels caught by pretty imitation, Nor any thing so hot in operation, As may inflame the Liuer of mine Host, To sweare I chalke too much vpon the post: My selfe a damn'd Promethian I should thinke, If with the Gods Scotch-Ale, or Meth, a drinke, The vulgar to prophane, Metheglin call, Or drops which from my Ladies Lembick fall, In severall spirits of a fifth transcendence, No, no, the hungry belly calls my mind thence: I wish not for Castalian cups, not I, But with the petty-Canons being dry, And but inspir'd with one bare Qu : let any Compare with vs for singing (O Sydany.) Thy Pot-herbs, prithy, Robbin, now afford, Perfume the Altar of thy Dresser-boord, And couer it with Hecatombes of Mutton, As fat and faire as euer knife did cut on: Then will I sing the Lender and the Debter, The martiall Mace, the Serieant and the Setter, Ruines and reparations of lost wealth, Still, Where you see me, Trust vnto your selfe."

- p. 4, l. 11. Lelaps. A dog of surpassing swiftness given by Diana to Procris, and by her presented to her husband Cephalus. See Ovid's Metamorphoses, vii, ll. 771-93, for an account of Laelaps.—S.
- p. 5, l. 15. daughters of twentye.. to rich cormorants of threescore. Compare Chaucer's Merchant's Tale of January and May.—F.
 - p. 6, l. 2. Durum pati meminisse dulce. Cf. En., I. 203. Daniello

in a note to the Inferno, xvi. 84, attributes this quotation to Seneca, but does not give a precise reference. See Lombardi's *Dante*, I. 351, ed. 1830.—S.

- p. 6, l. 7. Thinges farre fetchte and deere boughte. See Notes to Stafford's Examination, p. 103.—F.
- p. 7, I. 3, for: from, against: 'now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth for swallowing the treasure of the realm,' 2 Hen. VI, IV. i. 74; 'and advise thee to desist for going on death's net,' Pericles, I. i. 40.—Schmidt.—F.
- p. 7, l. 6. Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas. Juvenal, S. vi. 223. The usual reading is "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit, &c."—S.
- p. 8, l. 4. women with nothing more contented then to have their willes. Compare Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale; Andrew Boorde's Brevyary, chap. 242, in my edition of his Introduction, &c. (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 68, and note there.—F.
- p. 10, l. 9. had I wist is a slender remedy to remove repentaunce. "I write not here a tale of had I wist: But you shall heare of travels &c."—J. Taylor (Water Poet), Pennilesse Pilgrimage, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 132, ll. 2-3. "A wise man saith not, had I wist."—Uncertain author in Tottel's Miscellany, Arber's ed. p. 244.—P. A. D. "When dede is doun, hit ys to lat; be ware of hady-wyst."—The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgremage: Queene Elizabethes Achademy, E. E. T. S., p. 42, ll. 119-20.—S.
- p. 26, l. 8 from foot. 'Knight of the Post. Properly, a man who gained his living by giving false evidence on trials, or false bail; in a secondary sense, a sharper in general. "A knight of the post, quoth he, for so I am tearmed; a fellow that will sweare you any thing for twelve pence."—Nash, Pierce Penilesse, 1592.

"But is his resolution any way infracted, for that some refractaries are (like *knights of the post*) hired to witnesse against him?"—Ford's Line of Life, 1620.'—(Additions to) Nares.—F.

- p. 26, l. 24. "A supplication from Pierce Pennilesse." An allusion to a satire written by Thomas Nash, entitled "Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Divell; describing the over-spreading of Vice, and the suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reproofes," Lond. 1592; Watts, Bib. Brit.—S.
- p. 29, l. 12-13. Three instances of the genitive it in two lines: it delighte, it ioy, it beginning. See too p. 90, l. 9 from foot.—F.
- p. 30, l. 9-10. This proverb of the Pitcher going long to the water, but getting broken at last, is in Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, A.D. 1340: "Zuo longe geb bet pot to the wetere, bet hit comb tobroke hom," p. 165, l. 7 from foot, ed. Stevenson, for Roxburghe Club.—F.
- p. 32, l. 13 from foot. it was the parte of Mad Men, &c. A free expansion of "Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestati quavis ratione sapientis."—Cic. Off., I. xxiv. 5.—S.

- p. 33, l. 17. a tooting head: one with horns, through which men toot or blow, the mark of a cuckold.—F.
- p. 33, l. 30. where Christes crosse standes: that is, at the head of the alphabet. 'La croix de par dicu. The Christs-crosse-row; or Hornebooke wherein a child learnes it.'—Cotgrave.—F.
- p. 36, l. 3. mistrisse her necke. This absurd form of the possessive case came in from the mistake in the masculine, 'Robin good-fellow his newes,' p. 49, &c., as if the genitive -s, -es was contracted from hi-s. In the second text of Layamon's Brut are many of these genitives in his, some of them to feminine nouns. They arose from the scribe of that MS. being very fond of h's, and putting h on to the genitives in -is, which -is was often written apart from the crude form of its noun.—F.
- p. 36, l. 11. nor so many yeeld uppe the possession of their garmentes to the hangman. "There was a curst page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his cloaths; and when his master bad him, 'take them you, for they are the hangman's fees."—Bacon's Apophthegms, No. 69, Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon, 1802.—S.
- p. 39, l. 3. Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori.—Virgil, Ecl. x. 69.—S.
- p. 39, l. 12. that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies. The reflected images of himself seen by a lover in the pupils of his mistress's eyes, or vice versâ.
- Cf. "So when thou [Love] sawst in natures cabinet Stella, thou straight lookst babies in her eyes."—Sidney's Astrophel and Stella, sonnet xi. ll. 9-10.
- In Massinger's *Renegado*, II. iv, p. 129, col. 1, ed. Gifford, 1840, Donusa says to Vitelli, "When a young lady wrings you by the hand, thus, Or with an amorous touch presses your looks babies in your eyes, plays with your locks, Do not you find without a tutor's help, What 'tis she looks for?"—S.
- p. 43, l. 14. 'Thirteen Pence Halfpenny was considered as the hangman's wages very early in the 17th century. How much sooner, I have not noticed. "'Sfoot, what a witty rogue was this to leave this fair thirteen pence halfpenny, and this old halter, intimating aptly,

Had the hangman met us there, by these presages, Here had been his work, and here his wages."

Match at Midnight, Old Plays, vii. 357.

- "If I shold, he could not hang me for't; 'tis not worth thirteen pence halfpenny."—J. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, sign. F. 3.'—Nares.—F.
- p. 55, l. 22. Greenes Cunnyberries, Robert Greene's Coney-burrows, alluding to his four Coneycatching tracts: I. A Notable Discouery of Cosnage, 1591; II. The Second Part of Conny-catching, 1591; III. The Third and last part of Conny-catching, With the new deuised knavish arte of Foole-taking, 1592. IV. A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conney-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whorer is

most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth. Discouering the Secret Villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conversion of an English Courtizen, reformed this present years 1592.—Hazlitt.—F.

p. 55, last line. then on goes her pantoples. "Such is the Nature of these nouises that think to have learning without labour, that for the most parte they stande so on their pantuffles, that they be secure of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintance without cause, and to condemne them without colour."— Euphues, p. 47, ed. Arber.

Sander... "Why looke you now, ile scarce put up plain Sander now at any of their hands; for and any body have any thing to do with my master, straight they come crouching upon me,—'I beseech you good M. Sander speake a good word for me,'—and then I am so stowt and take it upon me, and stand upon my pantoffles to them, out of all crie, why I have a life like a giant now."—Taming of a Shrew, p. 174, ed. Nichols, Six old Plays.

"Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet."— Euphues, p. 117.—P. A. DANIEL.

p. 68, I. 7 from foot. willing her, . . . either then or never to consent to the saving of all their lives. Abduction was punishable with death. By statute 39 Eliz. c. 9, principals, procurers, or accessories before the fact, were deprived of benefit of clergy. See Blackstone's Commentaries, ed. Kerr, 1862, iv. 231.—S.

The preamble of the Act of Elizabeth, passt in 1597, illustrates the story in the text, and runs thus:—

"Whereas of late times divers women, as well maydens as widowes, and wives having substance, some in goods mooveable, and some in lands and tenements, and some being heires apparent to their Ancestours, for the lucre of such substance bene oftentimes taken by misdoers, contrary to their will, and after maried to such misdoers, or to others by their assent, or defiled, to the great displeasure of God, and contrary to your Hig[h]nesses Lawes, and disparagement of the said women, and great heavinesse and discomfort of their friends, and ill example of others; which offences, albeit the same be made felonie by a certaine act of Parliament made in the third yeere of King Henrie the seuenth: Yet forasmuch as Clergie hath been heretofore allowed to such Offenders, diuers persons have attempted and committed the said offences in hope of life by the benefit of Clergie 1:-Be it therefore enacted &c." Christopher Barker's edition of 1597, sign. E. This edition contains two acts more than the Record Office one, namely, "26 An Act for confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergie. 27 An Act for the grant of three entire Subsidies, and sixe Fifteenes and Tenths granted by the Temporalitie." Chap. 7, 'An Act for the more speedie payment of the Oueenes Maiesties debts', looks as if Q. Elizabeth was insolvent: but

¹ Education the excuse for crime! The doctrine sounds odd now.

'the Queen's debts' were debts due to her, like 'the Queen's traitors' were traitors against her.—F.

p. 69, l. 8. the counsell Table. The concilium ordinarium, commonly known as the court of star chamber, a branch of the privy council which assumed jurisdiction over many offences cognizable in the ordinary law courts. See Hallam's History of England, vol. I. chap. i.—S.

p. 69. 1. 8. she tolde so good a tale for him, &c. If a woman was married by her abductor, she was allowed to give evidence against him of the abduction, contrary to the then general rule that a wife's evidence could not be received against her husband. See Blackstone's Commentaries, iv. 231.—S.

p. 71, l. 10 from foot. *cooling carde*. So Suffolk in 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 83: "There all is marr'd; there lies a *cooling card*." Not Shakspere's.—F.

A letter from Euphues to Philautus is entitled, "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers."—*Euphues*, Arber's ed. p. 106. "Card. (2) A chart. Harrison, p. 39."—Halliwell's *Dict.*—S.

p. 75, l. 3 from foot. a tantinie pigge. St Anthony's. See Brand's Antiquities, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 200, note a, col. 2. And "St. Anthony's church in Threadneedle street, belonging to an hospital of that Saint, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Vienna as early as Henry III. The foundation was for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. . . The proctors of this house used to collect alms, and take from the market people lean or ill-conditioned pigs, which they turned abroad with bells about their necks to live upon the public,—whence the saying an Anthony's pig, and when fat, they killed them for the use of the hospital."—Stowe's Lond. p. 190, in Nichols's ed. of E. Perlin, Descr. d'Angleterre 1558, repr. 1775, p. 13. See the Index below, p. 209.—F.

p. 82. To compare small things with great, set this page beside Julia's description of her lovers in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii., and Portia's of hers in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii.—F.

p. 83, l. 7. Smithfield (or smooth-field, an etymology sanctioned by Fitz Stephen, who describes it as *campus planus*) was celebrated for many centuries as a market, and the cheating carried on there, more especially in the sale of horses, was long notorious. A 'Smithfield horse' was the cant name for a particularly bad bargain. Falstaff tells us that his horse was bought at Smithfield (2nd part of *Henry IV*., act I. sc. ii. ll. 56-7), and Pepys speaks "of the craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses," *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1668. And see under Dec. 11, 1668.—H. B. W.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. a Smithfeelde horse. Smithfield was noted for its horse-fairs (p. 87, l. 2 from foot); and at them, as at all other fairs, the buyer takes his chance.

"The Londiners pronounce woe to him that buyes a horse in Smyth-field, that takes a servant in Pauls Church, that marries a wife out of Westminster" [noted for its stews].—Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Pt. 3, p. 53. On the Fair in Smithfield, see *Bartholomew Fair*, 1641.—F.

- p. 83, 1. 7 from foot. whether a Smithfeelde horse will prove good or jadish. "heere [to Smithfield] comes many Horses, 1.ke Frenchmen) rotten in the joynts, which by tricks are made to leape, though they can scarce go; he that light upon a Horse in this place, from an olde Horse-courser, sound both in wind and limbe, may light of an honest Wife in the Stews: here's many an olde Jade, that trots hard for't, that uses his legs sore against his will, for he had rather have a Stable then a Market, or a Race."—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton, 1632, pp. 36-7.—S.
- p. 85, l. 3. let them have their willes; or they will, whether you will or no. Compare Andrew Boorde's Breviary, Fol. lxxxii. back, "therfore, Vt homo not cantet cum cuculo, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her have her owne wyl, for that she wyll have, who so euer say nay," p. 68 of my edition, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.—F.
- p. 91, l. 2. Kemps head. An account of William Kemp will be found in Variorum Shakspere, ed. 1821, vol. III. p. 197.—P. A. D.
- p. 91, l. 9. Knackes to knowe knaves by. "A knack how to knowe a knave," one of Kempe's works?—P. A. D.
- p. 113, l. 73. Ovid could testify, &c. Ultima cœlestum, terras Astræa reliquit.—Ovid's Metamorphoses, I. 150.—S.
- p. 113,1.84. carnall vice.. in the Popes great hall. On the lechery and sodomy seen in Rome by Andrew Boorde, see my edition of A. B., p. 77, with the extract from Thomas's History of Italye in the note there.—F.
- p. 118, l. 216, gigge, jig. Cp. in Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, iii. 49, 50, "A pretie newe Jigge betwene Francis the gentleman, Richard the farmer, and their wyves," Oct. 14, 1595; and on Oct. 21, "a ballad called Kemps newe Jigge betwixt a souldiour and a Miser, and Sym the clown." "The word 'jig' is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon; and in old English literature its application extended, beyond the tune itself, to any jigging rhymes that might be sung to such tunes. The songs sung by clowns after plays (which like those of Tarleton, were often extempore,) and any other merry ditties, were called jigs. 'Nay, sit down by my side, and I will sing thee one of my countrey jigges to make thee merry,' says Deloney, in his Thomas of Reading."—Chappell's Popular Music, ii. 495.—F.
- p. 118, l. 230. Seven Deadly Sins. Compare 'The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London: Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, Bringing the Plague with them. Opus septem Dierum. Tho: Dekker. At London Printed by E. A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be solde at his shop neere Saint Austens gate. 1606. 4to, black letter, 31 leaves.'—Hazlitt. Also Dekker's 'Belman of London,' 1608; 'Lanthorne and Candlelight,' 1609; 'O per se O,' 1612; 'Villanies discovered,' 1616; and the successive versions of his 'English Villanies,' 1632-48.—F.
- p. 121, l. 304. Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach the heel. "In the time of Queene Mary, and the beginning of the Raigne

of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for many yeeres before, it was not lawfull for any man either servant or others, to weare their Gowns lower than to the calves of their legges, except they were above threescore yeares of age, but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shoes . . . "—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, pp. 1039-40.—S.

p. 121, ll. 307-10. Bold Bettresse, &c.; p. 122, l. 333. fannes by truls are borne. "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffes, Fanns, Periwigs and Bodkins, were first devised, and used in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris" [1572].—Idem, p. 1038, col. 2.—S.

p. 126, l. 451. Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete.

"This field commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in use.

"When every Serving-man from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which

hung before him.

"This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeare of Queene *Elizabeth* [1577-8], for untill then it was usuall to have Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, upon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance.

"Especially from the midst of Aprill, untill the end of October, by reason, Smithfield was then free from durte and plashes. And in the Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourely frayes of sword and buckler men who tooke pleasure in that bragging fight; and although they made great shew of much furie and fought often, Yet seldome any man hurt for thrusting was not then in use: neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler."—Stow's Annales, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024, col. I and 2.—S.

p. 127, l. 497. Idlenesse. See Andrew Boorde's amusing 151st Chapter of his Breviary, on 'an euyl Feuer, the whiche dothe cumber yonge persons, named the Feuer lurden.' His remedy is: "There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is Vnguentum baculinum, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wand of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anoynt the bake and the shulders well, mornynge and euenynge, and do this .xxi. dayes," &c.: see my edition, p. 83-4, and the Index to my Babees Book.—F.

p. 129, ll. 562, 564. There were two Compters or prisons for debtors

in the city of London; each being under the superintendence of one of the Sheriffs. The Poultry Compter stood a few doors from St Mildred's church until 1817, when it was taken down. Stow wrote of it, "this hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof." Wood Street Compter stood on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was first established there in 1555, when the prisoners were removed from the old Compter in Bread Street to the new one in Wood Street. The latter was burnt down in the Great Fire, but rebuilt afterwards. The prison was removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. T. Middleton introduced a reference to the two Compters in his *Phænix*—" for as in that notable city called London stand two most famous Universities, Poultry and Wood street, where some are of twenty years' standing and have took all their degrees." Quoted in Cunningham's Handbook of London.—H. B. W. Thomas Nash also praisd the Compter ironically in his 'Strange Newes,' 1592, (sign. I.):—

"Heare what I say: a gentleman is never throughly entred into credit till he hath been there; and that Poet or novice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authenticall, till it hath beene seene and allowed in unthrifts consistory. Grande doloris ingenium! Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their fathers built them, but I protest I should never have writ passion well, or beene a piece of a poet, if I had not arriv'd in those quarters. Trace the gallantest youthes, and bravest revellers about towne, in all the by-paths of their expence, and you shall infallibly finde, that once in their life-time they have visited that melancholy habitation. Come, come, if you goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stand under the elbowe of it. I vow, if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chancery." (in Collier's Bibl. Catal. i. 277.)

p. 133, l. 679. *light-taylde huswives*. Compare 'A Dialogue bytwene the commune secretary and Jalowsye, Touchynge the vnstablenesse of Harlottes,' John Kynge [1550-61], Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 400.

"She that is fayre, lusty and yonge,
And can comon in termes with fyled tonge,
And wyll abyde whysperynge in the eare,
Thynke ye her tayle is not lyght of the seare?"

This is Hamlet's 'tickle o' the sere,' the sear being the catch of a gunlock, which when stiff, makes you pull the trigger very hard, but when light, turns it into a 'hair-trigger,' one that'll go at the touch of a hair.—F.

William Goddard's Neaste of Waspes, 1615, gives the theatres a bad character too (Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 314):—

"Goe to your plaie-howse, you shall actors have, Your baude, your gull, your whore, your pander knave, Goe to your bawdie house, y'ave actors too,
As bawdes, and whores, and gulls, pandars also,
Besides, in either howse (yf you enquire)
A place there is for men themselves to tire.
Since th' are so like, to choose theres not a pinn,
Whether bawdye-house, or plaie-howse you goe in."

As to the round house, compare The Cries of London (ib. p. 163, time of Ias. I.)

"The Players on the Banckeside, The round Globe and the Swan, Will search you idle tricks of love, But the Bull will play the man."

The Bull was 'The Red Bull' theatre in Clerkenwell. The Rose theatre on or near Bankside was also round. See Norden's Map, 1593.—F.

- p. 139, l. 7. Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe, &c. "Any two Justices of Peace may licence such as be delivered out of Gaoles, to begge for their fees, or to travell to their Countrey, or friends: and may give licence for fourtie dayes to a Rogue, that is marked [branded?]: and may make testimonial to a Servingman, that is turned away from his master, or whose master is dead: 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 18 Eliz. cap. 3; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11.
- ... And they may *Licence* diseased persons (living of almes) to travel to *Bathe*, or to *Buckstone*, for remedies of their griefe, 14 Eliz. cap. 5, and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 321-2.
- "Two such Justices may give licence to Fencers, Bearewards, Common players in Enterludes, Minstrels, Juglers, Pedlers, Tinkers, and Petite-chapmen, to goe abroad, so as they shall not be taken as Rogues. 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Idem, pp. 341-2.—S.
- p. 140, l. 45. Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens. A reminiscence of Horace, Od. IV. i. 16.?—S.
- p. 141, l. 1. folk leaving town after Term. Compare Lord Campbell's note on p. 23-4 of his Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered, 1859:
- "Even so late as Queen Anne's reign there seems to have been a prodigious influx of all ranks from the provinces into the metropolis in term time. During the preceding century, Parliament sometimes did not meet at all for a considerable number of years; and being summoned rarely and capriciously, the 'London season' seems to have been regulated, not by the session of Parliament, but by the law terms,—
 - '.... and prints before Term ends.'-Pope.

While term lasted, Westminster Hall was crowded all the morning, not only by lawyers, but by idlers and politicians in quest of news. Term having ended, there seems to have been a general dispersion. Even the Judges spent their vacations in the country, having when in town resided in their chambers in the Temple or Inns of Court. The Chiefs were obliged to remain in town a day or two after term, for Nisi Prius sittings; but the Puisnes were entirely liberated when proclamation was made at the rising of the court on the last day of term, in the form still preserved,

that "all manner of persons may take their ease, and give their attendance here again on the first day of the ensuing term."

See Thomas Dekker's 'The Dead Terme. Or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Tearmes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes of London and Westminster. London, Printed and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets. 1608. 4to, black letter, 27 leaves.'—F.

- p. 156, l. 19. "Actuary, (Actuarius) Is the Clerk or Scribe, that registers the Canons and Constitutions of the Convocation: Also an Officer in the Court Christian, who is in Nature of a Register."—Cowel's Law Dict., ed. 1727.
- p. 158, l. 6. Swainmootes of Forrests. "From the Sax. swan, a swain, as Country-swain, Boot-swain, and gemote, a Court or Convention. The Swanemote was a Court held twice a year [Spelman and Cowel say thrice.—S.] by the forest officers, fifteen days before Midsummer, and three weeks before Michaelmass, for enquiry of the trespasses committed within the bounds of the forest."—Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, ed. 1695, Glossary, s.v. Swanemotum.—S.
- p. 158, l. 12. The Virage. "Verge, Virgata, may seem to come from the French Verger, viridarium, and is used here in England for the Compass of the King's Court, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward of the King's Houshold, and of the Coroner of the King's House, and that seems to have been Twelve Miles Compass."—Cowel's Law Dict. ed. 1727.—S.
- p. 158, l. 16. The Clinke. "Then next is the Clinke, a Goal or Prison for the Trespassers in those Parts, namely, in old time for such as should Brabble, Fray, or break the Peace on the said Bank [the Bankside, Southwark] or in the Brothel Houses, they were by the Inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this Goal, when they were straitly Imprisoned."—Strype's Stow, ed. 1720, II. book iv. p. 8, col. 1.—S.
- p. 159, l. 9 from foot. And here I remember me of an old tale. This story will be found in Bacon's Apophthegms, No. 34, Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon, ed. 1802, p. 12.—S.
- p. 163, l. 12 from foot. An Enginere for making of Patars. Grose (Military Antiquities, I. p. 402) gives an engraving of "Pierriers, vulgarly called Pattereros," and says, "Chamber'd pieces for throwing stones, called cannon perriers . . . were about this time [Edward VI, reign] much used in small forts, and on shipboard."—S.
- p. 171, l. 1. Sir John Hawkins' hospital at Chatham. An hospital for decayed mariners and shipwrights was founded by Sir John Hawkins, in 1592, in which twelve pensioners have each a separate house, an allowance of eight shillings per week, and an annual supply of coal: the management is vested in 26 governors, of which number five are elective.—Lewis's Topographical Dictionary.—S.
 - p. 175, l. 2. Navibus atque, &c. Hor. Epp. I. xi. 28-30.-S.

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STAFFORD'S

EXAMINATION OF COMPLAINTS.

A.D. 1581.

SERIES VI.
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND.

PRESENTED

To his fellow Members

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

BY

THE RT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or briefe

Examination of centagne ordinary Complaints

of divers of our Countrymen in these our Dayes, A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLD

"A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

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Series VI. No. 3.

FOREWORDS.

OF the Elizabethan Tracts in the Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17-20), one of the earliest in date was the present Examination, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's Description of England, A.D. 1577-87, in Shakspere's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this Stafford. The most amusing 1 was Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583-95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the Tell-troth one-containing reprints of the unique 2 Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift, and Passionate Morrice, 1593, the very rare Tom Teltroths Message, and his Pens Complaint, 1600, Thomas Powell's Tom of all Trades, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's 3 unique 2 Glasse of Godly Loue-will give a good start to our New Shakspere Society's Shakspere's-England Series, the sixth of the eight Series plannd for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspere Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

- "The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.
 "A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.
- ¹ Dekker's Guls Horne-Book, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspere Society. Dekker's Belman of London, 1608, and Lanthorne and Candlelight, 1609, prig largely—as does the Groundwork of Coneycatching, 1592—from Harman's Caveat, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

² Believd so to be.

3 Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Church-

yard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hymble Petition of two Sisters: the Chyrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, uncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.¹

- ¹ The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspere's time:—
- Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865.
- Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10s. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.
- Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Fur nivall, Esq, with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13s. 1869.
- Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (de scribing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7s. 6d. 1869.
- (Hugh Rhodes's Book of Nurture, 1577, Richard Weste's Booke of Demeanor, 1619, and F. Seager's Schoole of Vertue, 1557, are in the Babes Book, 1868.)
- The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J M Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6s. 1871.
- Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works):—

- Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18s. 1870.
- England in Henry VIII.'s Time: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12s. 1871. (Part I., Starkey's Life and Letters, is in preparation.)
- A Supplycacyon of the Beggers, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F.J. Furnivall, M.A.; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M Cowper, Esq. 6s. 1871.
- Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12s. 1872.
- The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10s. 1872-1873.
- Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth² in any year near 1581, is

certen wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9s. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England:-

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (I. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the Complaynt of Scotland, 1548-9 A.D (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspere's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall. M.A.

1 This meaning of dearth is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the derthe of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," Parson's Tale, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue dearth, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driven to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

² The chief dearth in Shakspere's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date The Midsummer Night's Dream 1594-5, from its supposd allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these Forewords, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. King John (1595) is also supposd to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

vi Forewords. High prices in 1574. Stafford's book.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition)—but the rise in prices was only for a short time: ¹

. 16.

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessive price; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as five herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape: bay salt at three shillings the bushell. &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be given to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

า without เe

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell: at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fiue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

alt deare

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class—a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspere's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.² As Mr Matthew has

1 Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587:-

1587. clamation for me.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall dearth of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonablenesse of the yeares past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great come maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessive prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10.s., 12.s. 13 s. &c.

² Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "State

Forewords. Base money coind, then lowerd in value. vii

dealt, in his Introduction, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my Ballads from MSS., vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of England in Henry VIII's time and the Supplications for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in:-

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King Edward the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence: and in the seconde yeere of Queene Elizabeth called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—Stowe's Annales, ed. 1615.

(A D. 1544.) (36 Hen. VIII.) Base money

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King Henry the eight, and king Edward the sixt) was proclaimed, the of the base shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence: which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—Stowe's Annales, ed. 1615, p. 605.

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to Second fall of nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—ib.1

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 note, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature:

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne: another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

¹ On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says:

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer: a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

I Mary.

ird and l of base

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoyned for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. Edward the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoyned or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoeuer, but [they all] have sundry sorts of copper money.—ib. p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

561. reg. 4. n Comes. The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation 1 for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekely brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—Stowe's Annales, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspere (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thankt her for her "late and singular elemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspere's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be current as before.—Stowe's Annales, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

¹ See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his Essay on the Learning of Shakspere, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's Fasti Oxonienses 1 (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent:' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name:

"Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden² and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his unduetifull behaviour."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.³

- ¹ In Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the Athenæ, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the 'Reasons of the War,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &-c. Lond. 1581."
- ² Camden, in his Annals of Elizabeth, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says: "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."
 ³ Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and Mr Stafford, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.
- Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.
- Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or William Stafford's account of his dealings with Mons Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between Stafford and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by Stafford to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by Stafford, to Walsvagham.
- Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.
- Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between Mr Stafford and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.
- Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to tue plot.
- Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

In 3 Notes and Queries, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followd Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the Briefe Conceipt of English Pollicy. But he offerd no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who baggd every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford¹, when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March τ , 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sin Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, William Stafford, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the partier remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is,

1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in Mr Stafford's suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

¹ Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (Registers, New Coll.). In 1581, was printed his Briefe Conceipte of English Policy, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaner.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court 2; and his elder brother Edward,

- 1 Why his? Where is the evidence?
- ² What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?
- P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace*, *Southampton*, **25** *Fuly*, 1876, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:
- "I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with William Stafford. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The internal evidence in the 'compendium'—which I have quoted in my article in Notes and Queries, viz. his ackowledgment of the Queen's clemency towards him, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a Winchester College Scholar and New College Fellow, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in Notes and Queries respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the State Papers in the P. R. O., Domestic Series, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your brother's favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our Ambassador to Paris.
- "I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the Compendium, was... [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]
- "Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's 'Fasti' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No regularly kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's Annals, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of

State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works 1: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, Concordantiæ Bibliorum, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600. and 'The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of Cranmer's Bible sold for 90 l. Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, A General Historie of the Netherlands, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in 1598, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; The General Historie of the Turks, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and Tortura Torti by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's Defence of the Right of Kings). 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (Inq. P. M. 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., s. p. in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury.

Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the Briefe Conceipt in 1581?

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders: firstly to her younger son John, and his issue; then to her Son William, and his issue male; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt., her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (Pat. Roll, 26 Eliz. p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled 'Reasons of the War, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., s. p., who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (Decrees enrolled in Chancery, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. Greenfield, Southampton."

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the Harleian Miscellany.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically; for surely, only as a parson could he have there utterd what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace 1 of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold!

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 St George's Sq., N.W., July 10, 1876.

¹ I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrenderd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's Ath. Cant.

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2:

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell

reat raynes

many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. *Fames day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which dearth happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their private gaine, than through the vnseasonablenesse of the weather passed.

Bridges at Lambridge and t Ware borne owne.

Price of graine reate, when lod sends plenty.

Dearth of corn & other victual.

Disordered youths punished.

Dearth of vic-

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessive price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoever was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason. For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet served the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other yoong people about the citie of London, being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed, tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd yoong men, on the twenty-seven of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment

In this time of dearth and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three egs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.¹

An. reg. 40. Pepper 8.s the pound. This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shillings the pounde, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare solde for six pence the pounde: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

¹ The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1:—

ib. p. 782, col. 1. An. reg. 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by A Dearth of reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell Great prizes of from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price.

p. xi. William Stafford (2), Lady Dorothy Stafford's son. The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause. I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of Addenda, Elizabeth, Domestic State Papers, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."-Ibid. p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, ibid. p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—Ibid. p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—Ibid. Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if you wold vndertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to eniove the favor and reward due vnto your personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—Ibid. Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. William Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. prisonners one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

In all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.1 Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Corne good cheape inough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

¹ Compare Harrison's England, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain: thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss. This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the roth.

There is one class of men whose spol man would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

¹ Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.1 Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage; "one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do." It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, "we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre," &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

¹ Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures 1 to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

¹ It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's Complaint: "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c." What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

¹ Brinklow's Complaint, p. 10.

A COMPENDI-

ous or briefe examination of certagne ordinary complaints, of divers of our country men in these our dayes: which although they are in some part brinst & friuolous, yet are they all by vvay of dialogues throughly debated & biscussed.

By W. S. Gentleman.

IMPRINTED

at London in Fleetstreate, neere vnto Saincte Dunstones Church, by Thomas Marshe.

1581.

Cum Privilegio.

On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon: "Quarterly, 1st and 4th, France, viz. Azure, three fleurs de lis, ox; 2nd and 3rd, England, viz. Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, ox; the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England." The letters 'E. R.' are placed underneath. I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde for the Early English Text Society.—F. J. F.]

¹TO THE MOST VER- [: This page is registered **]

tuous and learned Lady, my most

deare and Soueraigne Princesse ELI-

ZABETH, by the Grace of God,

Queene of England, Fraunce, and

Ireland: Defendresse of the

Fayth. &c.



Hereas there was never anye thinge hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at fome time, for fome forged and furmysed matter, sustayned the reprehension of fome enuious persons or other: I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Princesse, that in this

your fo noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe fithence fcattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill-disposed people, so blinded with malice, and fubdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reverent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences: so are they most certainely condempned by the common confent of all fuch as are wyfe or indifferent. And although this be of itselfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbeare (most renowmed foueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maiesties late & singular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull mifdemeanour, but feeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towardes me by exhibiting vnto you this fmall and fimple prefent: wherein as I have in devoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and _2leaf **, back] obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of fundry men, fo doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

thereof: protestinge also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought which may in any wife founde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge fuch probability as I coulde, to ftop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected persons, which of their curiofity require farther fatisfaction in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your estate, I was earneftly moued to vndertake this enterprise, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to shewe myselfe vnskilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: fo prefuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was fo bould to commit the same to your gracious protection, fully perfwading and affuring myfelf, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the fame. God preserue your Maiesty with infinit increase of all his bleffings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you have already fufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may fo be) of vs your louing fubiects, and to the perfect establishing of this florishing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

> YOVR MAIESTIES moft faythfull and louing Subject W. S.

¹A Table of thynges

[* This leaf is registerd **uj]

$most\ notable\ contained$

in this Booke.

Hat no man is a straunger to the Common-

weale that he is in.	ı.a	[p.	[11
That of many heads is gathered a perfect co	oun-		-
fayle.		ſρ.	127
That every man is to be credited in his o	wne		_
arte.		[p.	12]
Why the Booke is made by way of dialogue.	2.a	[p.	12]
The fumme of the whole Booke.	2.a	[p.	13]
That men are not borne to themselues onely.	3.a	[p.	15]
The complaint of Inclosures by husbandmen.		[p.	
The complaint of dearth of victuall by artificers.	-	[p.	
The complaint of the decay of townes by Marchauntn	nen,		_
and of all other common easements.	4.a	[р.	16]
That many fuperfluous charges are layde downe, and	yet		
neuer the more plenty.		[p.	16]
Of dearth of outward marchaundise.	4.a	[p.	16]
Of dearth of all kinde of victuall.	4.a	[p.	17]
That Inclosures should not be the cause of this dearth.	4. b	[p.	17]
That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this dearth.	4.b	[p.	17]
The complaint of craftesmen against Gentlemen for taking			
of fearmes.	4.b	[p.	17]
The craftmans complaint that hee cannot fet men a-worke			
for the dearth of victuall.	5.a	[p.	18]
The Gentlemans complaint how he cannot kepe like o	oun-	-	
tenaunce as he was wont to doe.	5.a	[p.	[81
Why Gentlemen doe gieue ouer their housholdes.	5.b	[p.	19]
Why Gentlemen doe take fearmes to their handes.	5.b	[p.	19]
A complaint against Sheepe.	5.b	[p.	19]
The Doctors complaint for men of his forte.	б.а	[p.	[و1
A complaint against learned men.	б.а	[p.	20]

[rleaf **iij, back]

Whether a common weale may bee well gouerned without learning. That the learned haue alwaies had the fouerainty ouer the vnlearned. That learning fupplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience is the father of Wisedome. The wonderfull gystes that we haue by learning. That there is no faculty but is made more consumate by learninge. 8.b [p. 23]
That the learned haue alwaies had the fouerainty ouer the vnlearned. 7.a [p. 21] Whether a man may be wife without learning. 7.a [p. 21] That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience is the father of Wisedome. 7.a [p. 22] The wonderfull gystes that we haue by learning. 8.a [p. 23] That there is no faculty but is made more consumate by
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learninge. 8.b [p. 23]
How Cæfar excelled al other captains, by reason of his great
learning ioyned with his prowesse. 8.b [p. 24]
That knowledge in morall Philosophye is moste necessary for
a Counfailour. 9.a [p. 24]
What makes learned men to be so sew. 9.b [p. 25]
That yonge fludients be alwaies ouer-hafty in vttering their
iudgements. 9.b [p. 25]
That Pythagoras commaunded filence to his disciples for a
time. 9.b [p. 26]
That Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in geometry
fhould enter his fcoole. ro.a [p. 26]
What harme may come if they be fuffered to iudge in
thinges to whome that doth not appertaine. 10.2 [p. 26]
That it is not learning sufficient to know tongues and
write. 10.a [p. 26]
Why learning thould decay. 10.b [p. 27]
That enery state fyndes himselfe griened. II.a [p. 27]
That marchaunts can best saue themselues in euery altera-
tion. 11.a [p. 28]
Of our old coyne exhausted. 11.2 [p. 28]
Whether it made any matter of what mettal the coyn be
made. 11.b [p. 28]
What men are most pinched by this same dearth. 11.b [p. 29]
That the prince hath most loste by this vniuersall dearth. 11.b [p. 29]
What daunger should it be to the Realme if the prince should
want treasure in time of neede. 12.2 [p. 29]

How the Queenes maiestie cannot have treasure who	n her	
fubiectes haue none.	12.b [p. 3	o]
A recapitulation of the common grieues.	13.а [р. 3	o]
hat it is a maruailous dearth that come time of plenty. The occasion of this dearth is laide to Gentlemen. How from the Gentlemen it is laid.	13.b [p. 3 o the 14.a [p. 3	The table of the second dialogue.
the husbandmen.	14.a [p. 3	3]
The Gentlemens excuse and reasonable offer.	14.a [p. 3.	3]
The Husbandman refuseth, and puts ouer the fau	ılt to	
ironmongers and clothiers.	14.b. [p. 3.	4]
If all land were abated in their rent, whether this d	learth	
woulde be remedied.	15.a [p. 34	<u>+]</u>
That it were not expedient that ftraungers should sell	their	
wares deare, and we ours good cheape.	15.a [p. 34	[]
Another offer of the Gentleman made to the huft		_
man.	15.a [p. 32	H
Whether if the husbandman were forced to abate the	•	7
of hys stuffe: this dearth should be then amended.		[[orig. 14 b]
The straungers take but money currant euery where for		7
wares that they have ouer their exchaunge.	16.b [p. 37	1
That straungers and all marchauntes brings thinges that		.7
beste cheape to them, and dearest with vs.	16.b.[p. 37	-
What thinge is of that forte.	17.a [p. 37	J
He that felleth good cheape, & buieth deare, shal not lighthrine.	gnuy 17.b [p. 38	די
It is not possible to keepe our treasure from going for		7
the realm if it be in more estimation elswhere.	17.b [p. 39	7
That the dearth rose neither at the gentleman nor		7
hufbandmans handes.	18.a [p. 39	ה
Permutation of things before coyne.	18.a [p. 39	-
A complaint against sheepemaisters.	18.b [p. 40	-
That Inclosures is occasion of desolation, & vveaking of		J
povver of the realme.	18.b [p. 40	7
Reasons to defend Inclosures.	18.b [p. 40	-
What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.	19.a [p. 41	7
		-

Whether that that is profitable to one may be profita	ble to
all other, if they vie the same feate.	19.a [p. 41]
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diciall to other greater commodities.	19.b [p. 42]
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common vveale.	20.a [p. 43]
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lavves.	20.b [p. 43]
That a like restraint of vvoll should be made as is of cor	ne, or
none to be fent ouer vnvvrought.	21.a [p. 44]
Reasons vvhy the husband should not be at liberty, as v	vel as
other, to fell his vvares.	21.b [p. 45]
That by breeding, the hurband hath most clere gaines.	22.a [p. 46]
That profit aduaunceth all faculties.	22.b [p. 46]
That fome are to be allured by revvardes, and fome other	vvith
ftraight paynes forced in a common vveale.	22.b [p. 47]
The leffe honor or profit is geuen to any Arte, the leffe	it shal
be frequented.	23.a [p. 47]
Profit vvill make husbandmen more occupied, & thereby	more
plenty, and consequently better cheape of corne.	23.b [p. 48]
Whether the Queenes custome should be minished be	by re-
straint of Wooll vnvvrought.	24.b [p. 50]
Hovv straungers fetcheth from vs our great commo	odities
for very trifles.	25.a [p. 50]
Our delicacy in requiring straungers vvares.	25.a [p. 51]
The increase of Haberdashers and Mylleners ouer they	vvere
vvont to be.	25.b [p. 51]
Hovv the Straungers finde an eafier vvay to get Treafu	-
things of no value then by any Mynes of gold and filuer	
Hovv straungers finde their people vvith our commodityes.	
Why strangers may aforde Wares by them made, better	then
vve may the fame made heere, and yet that it vvere b	
for vs to buy our ovvne though they be dearer.	26.a [p. 52]
The most durable & vniuerfall profit is more to be este	
then short and particuler.	26.b [p. 53]
Whether fuch restraints do touch the leagues made	vvith
outveard princes.	26 h [n. 52]

No league is to be chearished that is not for the con	mmon
vveale.	27.a [p. 53]
A vvorthy example to be followed in vfing of straungers	s. 27.a [p. 54]
What harmes come and may come by the alteration of	of the
coyn.	27.b [p. 55]
That the fubstance and quantity is esteemed in coyne	
not the name.	28.b [p. 56]
That the necessity of mutuall traffique & commodi	
exchaunge made coyne to be deuised.	29.a [p. 57]
Why Golde and Siluer vvere the stuffe most meeter	
Coyne to be stricken in.	29.a [p. 57]
Why Gold and Siluer are efteemed afore all	other
mettals.	30.a. [p. 58]
Why Siluer and Gold vvere coyned.	31.а [р. бо]
Somtime braffe, filuer & gold, vvere vveighed before	coine
made.	31.а [р. 60]
What loffe comes of loffe of credence.	31.b [p. 60]
What do straungers bringe vs for our treasure & chief	com-
modity.	32.a [p. 61]
Hovv our old coine may be transported, & the Prince &	k her
officers not vvare.	32.a [p. 62]
We deuised the readiest vvay to drive avvay our treasure.	. 32.b [p. 62]
Why things vvithin the Realme should be fo deare.	32.b [p. 63]
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Hovv the alteration of the coyne shoulde bee most	loffe
to the Prince.	35.b [p. 67]
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A Briefe conceipte touching THE COMMON WEALE OF THIS REALME OF ENGLAND.

[Fol. r]



ONSIDERING THE diverse and fundry complaints of our countreimen in these our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compasse of these few yeres lately past, I thought good at this time to fet downe fuch probable discourse

for the occasion hereof, as I have hearde oftentimes vttered by men of founde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the confideration and reformation of the same doth especially belong; yet, knowing my felfe to bee a Member of the same Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may, I cannot recken and account my felfe a meere straunger to this No man is matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in straunger to daunger of wracke, might fay, that because he is not (percase) the weale he is maister or Pylate of the same, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, havinge nowe fuffycient leafure from other bufinesse, mee thought I coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publishe & make relation of such matters as I have hearde throughly disputed herein.

First, what thinges men are most grieued with; than, what should bee the occasion of the same; And that knowne, how such greues may bee taken away, and the state of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well fay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that 1 haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the [1Fol. 1, back] Prouerbe is) fometimes speake to the purpose: and, as many heads, fo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer fo wyfe themselues, (as our most excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiser that they be, the moe counsellers they will haue, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyse of more,) for that that one cannot

fome excelles in Memory, fome in Inuention, fome in Iudgement,

fome at the first fight ready, & some after long consideration; & though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all these (the best of euery mans deuise being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleasaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whose Iudgements I would wyshe to bee cheyfly efteemed herein; but also Marchaunt men, Husbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyfe, freely fuffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyses in this matter. For some poyncres in their feates they may disclose, that the wysest in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that every man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is most exercysed in. For did not Apelles, that excellent Paynter, confider, that when hee layde forth his fyne Image of Venus to bee seene of enery man that past by, to the intent, he hearing enery mans judgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myffe in his worke, whose Censures hee allowed, so longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle with an other mans Arte; fo, percafe, I may be auniwered as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe 1 my compasse; but, for as much as most of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philosophy moral, wherein I have fomewhat fludyed, I shall bee so bolde with my countreymen, who I doubt not will conftrue euery thinge to the best, as to vtter my poore and fimple conceipt herein, which I have gathered out of the talke of divers and fundry notable men that I have hearde reason on this matter; and though I should herein, percase, moue some thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in fuch cases of dis-

ceptacion is requisite, yet, hauinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a foare that a man woulde not have opened to his Phyfition, nor yet a

furfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore,

now to goe to the matter, vppon boldnesse of your good acceptation.

that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for boultinge out of the

If many reades is gahered a perect counsell.

That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.

[Fol 2]

Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.

truth, which is vied by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reasons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynst it. I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuerfall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; fecondly, in boulting out the verye The summe of causes and occasions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuisinge of the whole Booke. remedies for all the same. The refore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other persons of late, about this matter, which, because it happened betwene such persons as were Members of every state that finde themselves grieved now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderstand that the persons were these: A Knight, as I sayde first, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Huibandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed the communication in this manner enfuinge:-

Fol. 2, backj

THE FIRST DIA-

LOGVE.

Knighte.



Fter I and my Fellowes, the Iustices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commission touching divers matters, & geuen the charge to the enquest; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne, which selles Wyne,

to the intent to eate a morfell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest husbandman, whom, for his honest and good discretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comne, & had but skant sit downe in a close Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayde Husbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I trust, now forsake my company, though he should sare better with you.

Marchaunt.

Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will fend home for a pasty of Venison that I have there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee shalbe so bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; & as for my guest, hee is no straunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder.

Knight.

Marchaunt.

Knight.

Who is it?

Doctor Pandotheus.

Is he fo? on my fayth, he shalbe hartely welcome, for of him we shal have some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately the Marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn¹geth wyth him an honest man, a Capper of the same towne, who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunt; than, after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[" Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we fat all downe; and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, Doctor. you that be Iustices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost weekely, and in causinge poore men to appear before you, and leavinge theyr husbandry vnlookte to at home.

Surely it is fo. Yet the prince must be served, and the common- Knight. weale, for God and the prince have not fent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe feruice therefore abrode amonges our Nevghbours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that perswasion Doctor. in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, faying, we be not borne onely to our Plato. felues, but partely to the vse of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Cicero. Kinffolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth the Image of God and themselues man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodnesse abrode, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they refemble nothing of that godly Image, fo they study no common vtility of other, but onely the conferuation of them felues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most vnlyke them, being most vyle, and lykest to God, being most excellent, let vs study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carkasse, which is like the Brute beastes, but rather the

That men are not borne to

¹Then, (fayd the Husbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by Husband. me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worse Commissions in hand then this is. So wee had loft more dayes workes at our Hufbandry then this.

vertues of the minde, wherein we be lyke God him felfe.

[r Fol. 3, back]

Why fo?

Knight.

Mary, for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to Husband. pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Pasture; for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grafinge of Cattell; Husbandmen. in fo much that I have knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within leffe compasse then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this seuen

Complaynt of Inclosures by yeares; and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores; for, by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so ever it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more over, all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of dearth of vittayle by Artificers. I have well the experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they fay they cannot fufficiently live thereon. And I know, for truth, that the best husbande of them can save but litle at the yeares end; and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but sewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know every one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great poverty and desolation.

Marchaunt. [1 Fol. 4]

Complaynt of tovvnes by Marchaunt men & of all other common easementes.

Many superfluous charges layde dovvne and yet neuer the more plen-

Dearth of out vvarde Marchaundize.

So bee the most part of all the townes of England, Louldon onely except; and not onely the good townes are fore decayed in there Howses, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for fuch pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue fo much to spare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of fuch wayes, brydges, and other common easements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occasions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone or barre, & besides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offrings, and many fuch other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is fuch a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but also of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fuftians, Worsteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearfes, & Tapestry, Spyces of all fort; and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glasses, aswell drinckinge and looking, as for glafinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Daggers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all thefe doe cost nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Victayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, Dearth of all & no cause of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer tayle. fawe more plenty of Corne, graffe, and Cattell of all fortes, than wee haue at this prefent, and haue had (as yee know) all these twenty yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if these Inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat1tell, (as yee Knighte. fay) then it should not seeme this dearth should be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of Corne that yee have this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and fo hath That inclosubene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the cause of this occasion of the dearth of Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other; yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my forte, feele most greife in, which haue no way to fell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three, -I meane you, my neyghbour That Gentlethe husbandman, you, maister Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, griefe by this dearth. with other Artificers,-may faue your felues meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne. But we have nothing to fell, whereby we might advaunce the pryce thereof to countervalue those things that we must buy agayne.

[1 Fol. 4, back]

res be not the

men feele most

Yes, yee rayle the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes also Husband. and pastures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, fuch as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

On my foule, yee fay truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the [Capper] Capper also fayd no leffe; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry The complaynt with poore Crafts men fince Gentlemen became Grafiers; for they against Gentlecannot now a dayes (fayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and feruauntes of Farmes. meate and drynke, but it cost them almost double asmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leaue honestly SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STAFFORD.

of craftes men men for taking behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and befides that, leaue fome notable bequeftes for fome good deede, as to the making of

[1 Fol. 5]

Brydges, & repayring of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now every where. Also, some were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners 1 of th'occupations, yea, fome time they had fuch fuperfluity as they could ouer fuch bequeftes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryste, or to founde a Chauntry in some parishe Church: and now we are skant able to line without debt, or to keepe few feruaunts, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are the most parte of these rude people that maketh these vprores abrode, to the great disquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but also of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

Marchaunt.

The craftesmans complaynt

that he cannot set men a vvork

for the Dearth of victayle.

> It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hospitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, fuppofing therby that the city should be much released, which then was in some decay; and yet it decayeth still every day more and more; whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight.

Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cause, fo it is as true that I and my forte, I meane all Gentlemen, have as greate, yea, and farre greater cause to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I fayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are fo ryfen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayle the pryce of your wares, as the prifes of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse; and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of fuch landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past: I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed; or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my housholde that is so encreased ouer that it was; yet in all my 2 life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leafes, or by copy graunted before my time,

The Gentlemans complaynt hove he cannot keepe lyke countenaunce as he vvas vvont to doe.

[2 Fol. 5, back]

and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes; so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee Why Gentleknow) that have departed out of the countrey of late, have bene over their driuen to give ouer our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a fcore of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides, euery day in the weeke; and fuch of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundreth li. a yeare keepe that house that we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And thearefore we are forced, either to minishe the third part of our househoulde, or to Why Gentleraise the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot so Farmes into doe of our owne landes, that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne poffession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to ftore it with sheepe, or some other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde estate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

men doe geue housholdes.

men doth take their handes

Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they Husband. haue driven husbandry out of the countrey, by the which was increased before all kinde of victuals; & now all togeether, sheepe, sheepe, Complaint asheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but allfo Oxen, Kine, fwyn, Pig, Goofe, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheese; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, befides, reared alltogether vpon the fame lande.

Then the Doctor, that had leaned on his Elbowe all this 1 while Doctor. musing, fat vp and sayd, I perceaue by you all three, that there [1 Fol. 6] is none of you but have just cause to complaine.

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of the church, which Capper. trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Yee fay troth in dede, we have least cause to complaine: yet yee Doctor. know well, we be not so plentious as we have bene, the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the reft we might liue well The Doctors ynough, if we might have quietnes of minde & conscience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee fay,) yet yee

complaynt for men of his calling.

know we labour with our mindes, more to the weaking of the fame then by any other bodily exercise we should do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exercise.

Capper.

Complaynt against learned men. Mary, I woulde if I were of the Queenes counsell, prouide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no disease for lacke of exercise; I woulde set you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but set men together by the Eares, some with this opinion, & some with that, some holding this way, & some an other; and that so stifly, as though the troth must be as they say, that haue the vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not also the least cause of some of the people, some holding of the one learning, & some of the other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so; how should the Prynce haue counsailers then; how should we have christian religion taught vs; how shoul[d] we know the estats of other realmes, & haue 1 conferenc[e] with them of al contryes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by the benefit of Letters?

[* orig. houe]

Doctor.

Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee shall have few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on.

Capper.

[2 Fol. 6, back]

Doctor.

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter. I meane not but I would have men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne the languages vsed in countreies about vs, that we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs; yea, and that 2 wee might reade the holy scriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuersity thereof cometh these diuersities of opinions.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and so it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men sendes their sonnes to the Universities, they suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may have a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take them away, & bestow them to be Clarkes with some man of Lawe, or some Auditor and Receyver, or to be a Secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyving, whereby the Universities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occasion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wise and pollitique

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subject to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our Knight. pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in fubicction of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, thoughe there were no learned men in the Realme at all.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not fo muche won or kept by Doctor. the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee fee in all kindes of Whether a comgouernaunce, for the most parte, the wyser forte haue the souerayenty may be evel ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in vvithout leareuery City the wifest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are moste commonly placed to gouerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, thoughe their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines 1 doe declare that, among whom, [Fol. 7] like as learning and wifedome was most esteemed, so the Empyres That the learwere spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why vvay the soueshould you thinke it straung, that you might more be vanquished than the valearned. the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stoute men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Bryttons by the Romaines fyrst of all.

raignty ouer

There may bee wyfe men ynough, though they bee not learned. Knighte. I have knowne diverse men very wise & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wife, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speake of Doctor. had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other, that yee call fo fimple, had bene foolyfhe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyfe in warres maketh not euery man meete to Whether a bee a Captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer fo longe; nor there is vyyse vythout no other fo apt for the warre, but with experience and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wife than the younger forte, but their greater experience?

man may be learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But Knight. what doth learning thereto`

Doctor.

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wysedome.

[1 Fol. 7, back]

[2 orig. fitfty]

[3 orig. Cosmogragraphy]

[4 Fol. 8]

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth also help much to the increase of wisedome; let that, then, be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wifdome, & take it as it were the father of wisedome, & memory to be the mother. For, like as experience doth beget wildome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother: for in vaine shoulde experience be had, if the same were not kept in Then if I can shew you that both expelrience and remembraunce. also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee must needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaseth it; yee confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wifer than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man feeth but oncly things of his owne time, & the learned man feeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his aunceftors, yea, fince the worlde began. Wherefore, he must needes have more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age so euer he be, then so many cases as he seeth in all that time to have happened, coulde not fo well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee fawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe: where as the learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee should els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares must needes have more experience then hee that liueth fifty², fo hee that feeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needes haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countryes, hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his native countrey. So he that is learned, feeth by Cofmography³, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & vsage of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is possible for one man to trauayle through, and of these that he tranaileth much better, doth he learne there by imall taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and confequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to confider the maruaylous gyftes that we have by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vn4to man the greatest lack that some Wryters have complayed of, to be

learning.

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the grossenesse & wayght of The wonder-body: where in the first, diuerse beastes, as Hartes and many other, we have by and in the last all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditye of the life of a thowfand yeares; yea, two or three thowfandes, by reason hee seeth the euents and occurrents of all that time by Bookes. And if he should have lived him felfe by all that space, then coulde he have had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the rest had bene but trauayle; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him felfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that space. As to the other poynte, that wee be not fo agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might sturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee should purchase by fuch Peregrinations, as well as wee should if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leffe trauayle and May wee not through Cosmography see the situation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with lesse trauayle then if wee might slee ouer them our felues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they have left to vs to be learned with eafe & pleasure. Can wee not 1 all so throughe the science of Astronomy [1 orig. non] knowe the course of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aspectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, furely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all the learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumstances? (yes in deede), so that out of their writings we learned it; 2 and to the knowledge whereof by fight [2 Fol. 8, back] onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or necessary for the conjunct of mans life That there is heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more is made more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his learning. life? no not fo much as your Feate in warre, fir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Husbandman, but that either of them are so exactly taught and fet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer fo perfect in the faid Feates but might learne many poyntes

moe than euer yee saw before, by experience in either of them, as you, sir Knight, in Vigetius, and you, good Husbandman, in Columella.

I fay agayne, might wee not have that in our English tongue, & reade them ouer, though we never went to schole?

Hovv Cæsar excelled all other captaines by reason of his great learning joyned with his provvesse.

Knight.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 9] [² orig. Veterimarul]

That knovvledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for Counsailor.

Yea, well ynough, and yet shoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderstanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences, that is to fay, of Arithmetique, in disposinge and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuifing of Engines to winne Townes and Fortraffes, & of Brydges to passe ouer, in the which Casar excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderfull feates which an unlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coastes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other starres? and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knowledge of husbandry, had neede of some knowledge in Aftronomy, as vnder what aspect of the Planets, and in the entry of what figne by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to have fome judgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graffe, and houseinge of your ¹Cattell; yea, of some part of Phisick, called *Veterinaria*, ² where by yee might knowe the difeases of your Beastes, & heale them. Then, for true measuringe of lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit hufband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Mason is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of vitruuius, and other wryters of Architecture, that is to fay, the feyence of building? and to passe ouer the sciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof the first trauayleth about the discuscion of the true reason from the false, the other aboute the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counfaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what counfayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counfaylors have studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Phylosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called physicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Phylosophy morall? doth it not teache,

first, how every man shoulde governe him selfe honestly; Secondly, how he should guide his family wisely and profitably? And thirdly, it sheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale should bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counfaylors, that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [if] men experte in this Science were confulted and followed, the commen weale shoulde bee ordered, as fewe should have cause to complayne; therefore fayd Plato, that divine Philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale Plato. where either the Prince is a Phylosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other lear ninge in Knight. the world, but that these men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of [1 Fol 9, back] the Lawe, or of Phificke; whereof the first had all his cunning in Preaching, the fecond in matters of the spiritual lawe, and the third in phisicke, & in looking on diseased mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other sciences, very necessary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning.

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences Doctor. now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counfell. And therefore others, feeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or fet by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pryce, as to What maketh Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Philicke; though they cannot bee per- be so fevve. fit in any of these, without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Univerfities, that first men should bee Bachelers and Masters of Artes, ere they should come to Divinity; and these Artes bee the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Musicke, and Astronomy; and now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they have gotten or purchased them any judgment through the Younge studiforesayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these diversities of vvaies over Opinions that we fpeake of; for all beginners in euery science be very ring their iudgquicke and ouer-hafty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe

learned men to

ents bee allhasty in vttePythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.

[Fol. 10]

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geometry should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffered to judge in things to Whom it doth not appertayue.

That it is not learninge sufficient, to knovv the tongues, & to vvryte,

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they have once vttered their judgmentes & opinions, they will fee nothing that will founde contrary to the same, but eyther they will construe it to their owne phantaly, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. Pythagoras, to his scholers that came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded filence for feuen yeares, that by all that space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and 1 in this Diuine science, euery Boye that hath not red icripture past halfe a yeare, shalbe suffered, not onely to reason and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and straunge interpretacions vpon the same, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is fuffered? Also Plato forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe schoole of Dyuinity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much leffe any other science, shall be admitted at the first; I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered, but to judge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the same Plato sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vsed, that is, when they take on them the judgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne, -- as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, feruaunts ouer their mailters, and private men over their Maiestrates; what Ship can bee longe fafe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what house well gouerned, where euery seruaunt will bee a maister and a teacher? I speake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Capper) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne the tongues; whom I can refemble well to those men that esteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they seeme to take the bright Sunne from the Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuility, Wisedome, and Policy amonge men. And afmuch as reasonable men doe excell all other creatures by the gyft of Reason, so much excelleth a learned man ²any other, through the polithing and adorning of Reason by these Scyences

[2 Fol. 10, back]

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my Knight. company at this time, for of a wife man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee fayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should have learned men few ynough within a while, if the world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be the cause thereof?

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same; that was, Doctor. where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning youngh to write & reade; another cause is, that Why learning they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary, the more learned, the more troubles, loffes, & vexations they come vnto.

God forbid! How fo?

Knight.

Mary! haue you not feene how many learned men haue bene put Doctor. to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that have rysen in controversie? have you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene fet forth, and who fo euer fayd against that were put to trouble; and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and fet forth, were not the other that prospered before, put to trouble, for faying their mindes against this latter opinion? & so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side soeuer hee were, except it were fome weatherwife fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as the more & stronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they that came to these troubles? the singularest fellowes of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such, who feeing in fteede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hinderaunce, recompensed for a reward of 1 learning; will any either [1 Fol. 11] put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than this? or, what scholer shall have any courrage to 2 study to come to [2 orig. co] that ende? the rarity of scholers and solitude of the Universities doe declare this to be truer then any man with speach can declare.

Then, I perceaue euery man findeth himselse greeued at this time, Marchaunt. & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceaue. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; That every the Artifficers cannot fet so many a worke, by reason all maner of himselse gree-

[Debasing of our com.]

Doctor.

That Marchauntes best saue themselues in euery alteration.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

[rorig. Opp-

Knight.

Doctor.
[2 Fol. 11, back]

Whether it make any matter of vvhat mettall the Coyne bee made of.

[Rise in prices: Cap, 14d. to 30d.; shoes, 6d. to 1s; horse shod, 6d. to 10d. or 12d.]

victayle is so deere; the Husbandman, by reason his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer sea; which great derth (I speake in comparition of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a stay, euer after that basenesse of our English Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng Henry the eyght.

I doubt not, but if any forte of men haue licked themselues whole, yee bee the same; for what oddes so euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can espy it straight; for example, because yee touched somewhat of that Coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunsed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea; raked all the olde Coyne for the most parte in the Realme, and sounde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, so as litle was leste beehinde within this Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorte space, which, in my Opynion, is a great cause of this dearth that hath bene since of all things.

How can that be? what maketh it to the matter what forte of Coyne we have among our felues, so it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also the 2 proofe & experience hath already declared the same; but nowe wee doe not reason of the causes of these griefes, but what states of men bee grieued in deede by this dearth of things; and albeit I heare every man finde him felfe grieued by it in one thinge or other, yet, confidering that as many of them as haue wares to fell, doe enhaunse as much in the pryce of thinges that they fell, as was enhaunfed before in the prices of things that they must buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will sell deere againe; fo these Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, have respect large ynough in sellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I have fene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. shillings fixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is rysen. Now, a payre of shooes cost twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for fixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horse shooed under ten pence or twelue pence, where I have also seene the common pryce was sixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderstande that these men haue greatest

greife by this common and vniuerfall dearth, but rather fuch as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common What men are Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, feruing men to forty shilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whose landes are set out by them and their Auncestors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, so as they cannot enhaunce the rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunfed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee speake nothing of all this while, as the hath most of yearely Reuenewes, and that certayne, so moste losse by should shee haue moste losse by this dearth, and by the alteration Dearth. specially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of feruaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they should pay him pinnes weekely, where before they payde him pence, I thinke he [1 Fol. 12] should be most looser himselfe; so wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore livinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the most part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettinges in this base Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether that will go as farre as good Money in the Provision of necessaries for her selfe and the Realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maiesties subjects; yea, since her Maiesty must have from beyonde the Seas many thinges necessary, not onely for her graces houshold, and Ornaments aswel of her person and family as of her horses, which percase might bee by her Grace some- what damper what moderated; but also for the furniture of her warres, which by the Realme if no meanes can be spared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, should want Treasure in Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I judge farther) fome Hand- time of neede. gunnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can recken, which her Grace fometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at. I passe ouer the enhaunfment of the charges of her Graces houshoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I fay,) her Maiestie should have most losse by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loffe, but daunger to the Realme and all her fubiects, if her Grace should want Treasure to purchase the faide prouifion and necessaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

moste pinched by this common Dearth.

That the Prince hath this common

should it be to

in time of neede, which passeth all the other private losses that wee speake of.

Capper.

Wee heare fay that the Queenes Maiestyes mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shee supplies that lacke by Subsidies and impositions of her ¹ Subiects, so as her Grace can have no lacke, so longe as her Subiects have it.

Doctor.

[1Fol. 12, back]

Yee fay well there, 'so long as the Subiects haue it,' so it is meete the Queene shoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treasure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose the profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull the wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet that way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the Prynces suerty; and wee see many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are mooued to sedition, partely by occasion of the same.

To vvhat profit the nevv Mint is like.

none.

Hovve the Queenes Ma-

iesty cannot haue Treasure

When her subiects haue

Knighte.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with the whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee have ensearched the very sores and grieues that every man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them; and the causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may advertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges.

Doctor.

[20rig. coumnication] A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasurs, & though this ²communication (percase) should doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man, sith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

Knight.

[3 Fol. 13]

A recapitulation of the common griefes.

No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the Beames or Raf^sters of the same, and would ensearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, as well for his owne sauegarde as for others? but, for a smuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceaue, standeth in these poyncts, (that is to say) dearth of all things in comparison of the second the former age, (though there be scarseness of nothinge), desolation of the second the second these second the sec Countryes by Inclosures, defolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and division of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where having a good, freshe, and coole sitting for vs in the shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leafure. And I will bespeake our Supper here with myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the rest of the company), for wee are weary of fitting here fo long. And fo wee all departed to the Garden.

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the causes or

occasions of the Sayd griefes are en-

creafed

Knight.



Hen we had walked vp and downe in the fayd Garden a prety whyle, I thought long till I had heard more of the fayde Doctors communication; for hee feemed to mee a very wife man, not after the common fort of these Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that

they professe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phisitions, of phisicke onely; this man spake very naturally of every thinge, as a man vniversally seene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I desired him and the rest of our saide companions, to resorte againe to the matter that wee lest at, and first to discourse & search out what should be the causes of the saide common and vniversall dearth of all thinges (in comparison of the former age), saying to the Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maister Doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth, seeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) so plentifull. There was never more plenty of Cattell then there is nowe of all fortes; and yet there is scarsity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a maruaylous Dearth that commeth in time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused vpon, and worthy of Inquisition; let mee heare every one of your opinions, and than yee shall heare myne.

Husband.
[* Fol 14]
The occasion of this dearth is layde to the Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth ¹ groweth, by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height, as men that liue thereon must needes sell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

And I fay it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to Knight. rayse our Rents, by reason wee must buy so deare all thinges that wee haue of vou, as Corne, Cattell, Goose, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter From the Genand Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe layde to the dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares? Cannot you, Neighbour, remember, that within these xxx. yeres, I could [Great rise in in this towne buy the best Pigge or Goose that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now cofteth twelue pence; a good Capon for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which now cofteth mee double & triple the money? it is likewise in greater ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

Husbandmen.

prices lately.]

I graunt that: but I say you & your sorte, men of landes, are the Husband. first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes.

Well, if yee and your forte will agree thereto, that shalbee holpen; Knighte. vndertake that you & your forte will fell all thinges at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares past; and that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen, then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunfed, for fome haue takings therein, as Leafes, or Copies not yet expyred, which cannot bee enhaunfed though the owners would; and The Gentelefome Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be and resonable at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, fo as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the olde rent; and yet neuerthelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but felleth all things they have, dearer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes, doe not enhaunse it generally to the 1 double; though I confesse that [: Fol. 14, back] some of vs that had landes either gieuen vs by the Kings highnesse, that belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer furueyed to the vttermost before, or otherwise descended to vs, haue enhaunsed any of them aboue the old rent, yet all that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

How fay yee? hee fayeth well to you nowe; will yee fell your Doctor. wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to have it. When the husbandman had pawfed a while, hee fayd:

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Husband.

If I had the price of enery thing that I must pay for besides likewise brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor.

What thinges bee those?

Husband.

The husbandman refuseth,
and putteth ouer the faulte

to Iron Mongers, and cloMary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our fheepe; fhooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I fhould buy, neuertheleffe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet fell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforefayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

Doctor.

thiers.

Then I perceaue yee must have the pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband.

Yea, (but fir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor.

Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one affent agree, that theyr landes should bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee fayd afore yee coulde not yet fell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares past, because of the pryce that is rayled in other thinges that yee must buy; and if ye would fay that those men should be driven againe to sell those wares that yee buy, first better cheape, and then yee will sell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they 1 be compelled to doe fo? they be ftraungers, and not within obedience of our foueraigne Lady, that doe fell fuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then confider mee, if yee cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to fuffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were fo, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerishinge of our owne; for they should haue much Treasure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuise to make one pryce of our commodities among our felues, and another outwardes, which I cannot fee how it may bee?

[* Fol. 15]
If all Landes
vvere abated
in their rent,
vvhether this
dearth vvoulde
be remedied.

That it vvere not expedient that straungers should sel deere and vvee ours good cheape.

Knight.
A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.
Husband.
Knighte.

Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reasonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increased as your payment is increased after the rate, and yet I am contented.

What meane yee by that?

I meane this: yee fell that yee were wont to fell a foretime for

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increased after that proportion and rate, that is, for every xx. groates of olde rente, x. shillinges, and fo as the pryce of your wares rifeth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde ftent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. shil- Husband. linges iiii.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee.

I cannot much fay agaynst that; but yet I perceaue I shallbe still Knight. a loser by that bargayne, though I cannot tell the reason why; but I perceiue yee fell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayster Docter, I pray you, for the Husbandman driueth mee to the Wall.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reason Doctor. of, you draue him to his shiftes; that is, to confesse that this dearth rifeth not at your hand. And, though hee doe delfend him felfe for [1 Fol. 15, back] his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee seemeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to reftrayne him, but hee may fell his wares as deere as he lifteth. It is enough for your purpose, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hande; but, Whether if the Husbandman whether (the pryces of thinges increasing as they doe) it were reason were forced yee did rayse your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the prices of his stuffe. the olde rate when yee did fette your land; if yee bee compelled to this dealr like the pay for your prouision after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let that bee confidered of other wife men; but now let vs fee, if the Husbandman were forced to fell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges should bee well then. Our Englishe Coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the most parte it hath beene) before that it was restored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the case this, that this husbandman should bee commaunded to sell his [Even if the wheate at viii.d. the bushell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iiii.d., his pig and were ordered to goose at iiii.d., his capon at iiii.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at and the Landa marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time old rent, past haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the same when the price is so set, will goe as far for the

to abate should be then mended.

Husbandman sell at old prices lord to take his

fayd wares, whereof the pryces be thus fet as fo much of olde Coine,

[* Fol. 16] could foreign wines, glass for windows, &c.' paide after the olde wont would have done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieued; well, let us goe farther: The Husbandman must buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and suppose hee should bee also forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were fet after the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wynes, Spyces, Sil¹kes, Armour, Glasse to glaze his house withall; Iron also for Tooles, Weapones, and other Inftruments necessary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diverse thinges, more then I can recken without fumme; whereof they may in no wife want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within the realme of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without fome other of the faid commodities wee could live but grofly and Barbaroufly, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, these must be brought from beyonde the Seas; shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when straungers should see that with lesse money then they were wont to take for these wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leffe money when it goeth as farre as the more went before, and fo fell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they fell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to fell their Veluet at a marke a yard, so they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

be bought at like low prices?]

Knighte.

I would thinke fo, for thereby hee should be at no more losse then hee is now. And so the like reason may serue for Iron, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor.

If I should aske you this question, whether they should bee compelled by a lawe to sell theyr wares so or no, what could yee say?

Knight.

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no; & I think they cannot, because they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but seeinge they may have all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they sell for less money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and sell them. so.

¹Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne; Doctor. for I thinke they would fell still at the highest as they doe now; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee must vnderstand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but fometimes to fell theirs heere, know-money currant euery Where ing it heere to be best vendible, and to buy in other countreves other for thir vvare commodities, where the fame is best cheape; and some times to sell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there most desired, and to goe to fome other parte of the realme, for the commodities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another; and for that purpose Coyne vniuerfally currant is most commodious, specially if they entend to bestowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, the straunger should be at greater losses if he should take our coyne for his wares, so as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe when and where he lift. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not study to bring vs such wares or stuffe as should be best cheape with them and most deare with vs.

[I Fol. 16, back]

The straungers that they haue on their charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts.

What stuffe is that, trowe you?

Knight. Doctor.

Mary, Glasses of all fortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orenges, Knighte. Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and fuch like tryfles.

Yee fay well, they will percase attempt vs with such & such Doctor. thinges as are good cheape with them; it costeth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els should be idle; yet these thinges be That straunfome what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, that bee best and fuch other, fuch light wares as yee fpeake of will not be de- and deerest fired heere, ² but reiected, and these other looked for. what other [2 Fol. 17] things els will they bring, trowe you?

gers and all Marchauntes chape to them. vvith vs.

Percase yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spyces?

No, not that, for those bee in good price els where.

Knight. Doctor.

What, then, should they have to vtter to vs, that is best cheape with Knight. them and deerest with vs?

Braffe, for it should go with them but for Braffe in dede, Doctor. and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and that they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight.
Doctor.
Knighte.
[1] Doctor.

How? in braffe Pots, Panes, and other Veffel of Braffe?

Not fo; no man would take such Stuffe but for Brasse in deede.

How then? ¹ Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde sea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they see that esteemed heere as filuer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Chefe, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to fell for the most they can get; and beinge offered of straungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will fell them to ftraungers rather then vs, with whom the price is fet; then straungers may aforde that Coine good cheape, for they make it them felues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geeue thereof for our sayde commodities, as much as yee will aske. Then, though they made not such Coyne themfelues, yet, feeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may have as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needes have a consideration of that in the price of the fayd outwarde marchaundize that they fell, & alfo holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhaufte our cheife commodities, and gieue vs braffe for them, where with wee cannot buy fuch 2 other like necessary commodities againe as wee fhoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchaunge that Homer fayeth Glaucus made with Diomedes, when he gaue to his man his golden Harnesse for Brasen. But the other way they must needes bee brought to sell theire wares deerer to vs. and then, if this husbandeman and Gentleman, and so all other within this realme, should be compelled to fell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot fee how they should longe prosper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and fould good cheape, and vse it any long space, to thriue.

[Base coin made abroad, and exchangd for English goods.]

[2 Fol. 17, back. Catch word like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thriue.

Knight.

There may be fearchers made for fuch Coyners as yee fpeake of, comming in, and punishments deuised therefore; and for goinge forth of Victayles also, that none shall passe this Realme.

Doctor.

There may be no deuise imagined so stronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both those points, as well in such coyne brought in as in

victailes caried forth; for many heades will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Posterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maifter. Whofoeuer hath but a prety house, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maifter of the house neuer so attentiue, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth; much more out of such a large Realme as this is, havinge fo many wayes and Posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce the prices of theire wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they fell deere and buy good cheape, and confequently enrych themselues and impouerishe Yet had I leauer aduaunce our 1 wares in price as they aduaunce [1 Fol. 18] theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughe fome bee loofers thereby; but yet not fo many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of every trifle? for so it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente; That the departs and therfore I cannot perceaue that it maye bee remedied by either the Gentleman of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good husbandman); for mans hand. if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the fame, by releafing the thing againe at either of your handes that was the cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde Permutation not compell ftraungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I have fore Coyne. fayde; and fo longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impossible, or else to vse exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of Homer it was, and also the Ciuile lawe doth affirme the same, which were very comberfome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possi-ble to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation else vvhere.

lose neither at nor Husband-

Husband.

If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wofe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor.

I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but first let vs boulte out the cause of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing should be the cause thereof.

Capper.
[1 Fol 18, back]
Complaynt a-

gainst sheepe-

maisters.

Mary! these Inc[l] of ures and great Pastures are a great cause of the same, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, ¹ beinge a liuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and also cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. persons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Sheepherds, and the Maister onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

Doctor.

That Inclosures is the oc-

casion of desolation & vvea-

king the povver of the Realme. Yee touch a matter that is much to be confidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely the cause of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclosing doe as much increase in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to the great desolation and weaking of the strength of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee the most occasion of any thinge yee spake yet, of these wilde & vnhappy vprores that hath bene among vs; for by reason of these Inclosures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all a like, and therefore the people still increasinge, and their liuings diminishing, it must nedes come to passe that a great part of the people shalbe idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they must needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them that have plenty, and so stirre these tumultes.

Knighte.

Experience should seeme to proue playnely, that Inclosures should bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northhamptonshyre, &c. And I have hearde a Civilion once say, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this saying), 'that which is possessed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience sheweth that Tenaunts in common be not so good husbandes as when every man hath his parte in severalty; also, I have heard say, that in the most countreyes beyonde the Sea, they 2knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.

muni possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.

Quod in com-

Reasons to defend Inclosures [2 Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of Doctor. fuch Inclosures as turneth common & erable fields into pasture, and violent Inclosures of commins without iust recompence of them that What kinde of haue right to commen therein; for if lande were feuerally enclosed, hurtfull. to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of the fame to himfelfe inclosed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, should come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be sodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which having no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and some refreshing vppon the sayde commens, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a disorder in the commonweale; and percase also, if men were suffred to inclose their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Pasture, as wee see they doe nowe, too fast.

Inclosures is

[Poor, without land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why should they Knighte. not?

I can tel why they should not, wel ynough, for they may not purchase themselues profit by that which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them that they would not so doe, is al the matter; for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will ftill inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (quoth the Knight) That well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for the common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor. Whether that vvhich is pro-fitable to one may be profita-ble to all other if they vse the same feate. Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a Doctor. lawe therein, so many as haue profit by that matter resisting it. And if fuch a lawe were made, yet men, studying still of there most profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

¹I haue heard oftentymes much reasoning in this matter, and some, Knight. in maintenaunce of these Inclosures, would make this reason: every [1 Fol. 19, pack] m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & fo to another, may be profitable to all, and so to the whole commonweale. greate Masse of Treasure consisteth of many pence, and one pency added to another, and so to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a

greate fomme; fo doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor.

That reason is good, adding some what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwise; or else stealing or robbing, which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of inclosinge is so, that where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudiciall to many; therefore I thinke that reason sufficiently aunswered.

[Enclosures profit one man, hurt many.]

Knight.

Also, they will laye forth another Reason, saying, that that which is our owne commodityes should bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and these sheepes profit is one of the greatest commodities were haue; therfore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor.

I coulde auniwere that argument with the like reason as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, so it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or else, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and suchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee shoulde turne all our erable grounde to nourishe that commodity, and give up the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

dity muste bee aduaunced so as it be not presudiciall to other greater commodities.

Euery commo-

Knight. [1 Fol. 20] Doctor. ¹They will fay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for sheepe. It is a very ill Grounde, but either it serueth to breed sheepe or to feede them vppon; and if all that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where shall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte.

Doctor.

All cannot doe fo, though fome doe.

What should let them all to do that wich they see some do? yea, what should better encourage them thereto, then to se them that do it be come notable riche men in short time by the doing thereos? And then if every man should do so, one following the example of another, what should ensew thereos, but a meere solitude and vtter desolation of the whole realme, furnished onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in steed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes that first would set upon it? for then the sheepe Maysters & theire Sheepherds could make no resistance to the contrary.

[If all grew Sheep instead of good Men, England would be the prey of her foes.]

Who can let them to make their most advauntage of that which is Knight. their owne?

Yes, mary! men may not vse their owne thinges to the damage of Doctor. the commonweale; yet for all this that I fee, it is a thinge most necessary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it shoulde bee the only cause of this dearth, for this Inclosinge and greate grafinge, if it were occasion of that dearth of any thing, it muste bee of Corne No man may cheifly, and nowe these many yeares past we had Corne good cheape things to the inough. And the dearth that was then most, was of cattell, as Biefes the common and Muttons; and the broode of these are rather increased then diminifhed by Paftures and inclofinges.

Why should men be then so much offended with these Inclosures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great cause, for thoughe these many yeares past, Doctor. through the great bounty of God, we have had 1 much plenty of [*Fol. 20, back] Corne whereby it hath beene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do,-yet if these yeares had chaunsed to be but meanely fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we should have had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. alone stopt the And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. Poor.] And if hereafter there shoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee should bee assured to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from that it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And specially if wee haue not ynough to serue within the Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture; for every man will feeke where most advauntage is, & they fee there is most aduauntage in grafing and breeding then in husbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the Pasture shall euer incroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

narvests have undoing of the

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then?

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as Doctor. the profit of the Grafier and sheepe maister is.

How coulde that be done?

Mary, I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the Doctor. deuises shall seeme at the first blush so displeasaunt vnto you, ere yee Hovv Inclosiconfider it throughly, that yee will reject them ere yee examyne them; medied withfor we talke now to have things good cheape; and then if I should of lavvss.

Knight.

Knighte.

ers may be reout constraint

44

mencion a meane that should make some thinges deerer for the time, I shoulde bee anon rejected, as a man that spake against every mans purpose.

Knighte.

Yet, fay your minde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seems vnreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende.

Doctor.

Remember what we haue in hand to treate of, not how the prices of thinges onely may bee broughte downe; but ¹how these Inclosures may bee broken vp, and husbandry more vsed; of the prices of thinges we shall speake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Knight.

What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly?

Doctor. Knighte.

Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Doctor.

It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you, And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe nowe Pastures.

Knight.

What be those two thinges?

Doctor.

[Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.]

Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by the Pastures as there groweth by the tillage, Or els make that there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of euery man as Pasture.

Knight.

And how may that be done?

Doctor.

Mary, the first way is to make the wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and that shallbe, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increase the custome of Wooll that passeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet the price ouer Sea shal be neuer the lesse; but, that which is increased in the price thereof on straungers, shall come to the Queenes highnesse, which is as prostable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as wooll should be; and that might be brought to passe if yee wil let it have as free passage over Sea at all times, as yee have now for Wooll.

That a like restraint of vvool shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wool.]

By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll ouer sea then

Marchaunt.

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes 1 custome should be [1 Fol. 21, back] dyminished; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne should be much enhaunsed, wherewith men would be much grieued.

I wot wel it would bee deere at the first, but if I can perswade Doctor. you that it were reasonable, it were so; and that the same could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuerfally, but greater profit to the fame, then I thinke ye would be content it shoulde be so; and as touchinge the Queenes cuftome, I will speake afterwarde.

I graunt, if yee could shewe me that.

Marchanat.

I will affay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate; and, as I Doctor shewed you before, at the first vew would displease many; for they would fay, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and fuch other like reasons would bee sayd. But now let the husbandman answere fuch againe: 'Haue not you Grafiers rayfed the price of your Woolles and Felles? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayfed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double? Is it not as good reason, then, that wee should raise Reasons why the price of our Corne? what reason is it you should bee at large, and man should we should be restrayned? Eyther let vs all be restrayned together, or els ty as other to sell his wares. let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may fell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheefe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryfeth all by grafing) at your pleafure, and for the deerest peny yee can get for it; and wee shall not sell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the bushel, or vnder, that is as much to fay, as wee that be husband men shall not sell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for so litle as wee shall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them fomewhat 2 reasonable?

the Husbandbe at like liber-

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye have spoken in the matter Husband. more then I could doe my felfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wift not what was the cause therof; many of vs fawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but fmall by the Plough, & therefore diverse of my Neighbours, that had in time past some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue

layde downe, fome of them part, and fome of them all their Teemes;

[2 Fol. 22]

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in the common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed, of common agreement of all the towneship, longe or this time. And to say the very truth, I, that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde; Whereof, because the price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past.

Capper.

Though this reason of maister Doctors here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maister doctor, say, that it were as good reason that the Husbandman should reyse the price of his corne, and have as free vent of the same over sea, as we doe and have of our wares, I cannot greately deny; but that yet I say that every man hath neede of corne, but they have not so much of other wares.

[² Fol. 22, back] Doctor.

That profit aduaunceth all faculties.

Honos alit Artes.

¹Therefore, the more necessary that come is, the more be the men to be chearished that reareth it; for if they see there bee not so much profit in vinge the plough as they see in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leave that trade, and fall to another that they see more profitable? As yee may perceive by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which have turned there erable lande to pasture, because they see more profit by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old saying in Latin, Honos alit artes? that is to fay, profit or advauncement nourisheth euery facultie; which saying is so true, that it is allowed by the common judgement of al men. Wee must vnderstand also, that all thinges that should bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be confrayned by the ftraight penalties of the lawe, but fome fo, and fome either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be industrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or fludious to learne any science or knowledge of the mynde? to these thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

if they that be industrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee fuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and so likewyse they that be learned, be aduaunced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then study, either to bee industrious in bodely labour, or studious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take these rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg the ground, or exercise any manuall art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer feaes for any Marchaundife, or vse any facultie wherein any perill or daunger should be, seing his reward shalbe no more then his that fits still? But yee wil percase aunswere me, that all their reward shal not be taken away, but part of it. then yee must graunt me, that as if all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must 1 decaie; so if part of that reward be min- [* Fol. 23] ished, the vse of these faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and fo they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to deuise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse; which I cannot perceive how it may be brought to passe, but as men do fe the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that fome things in a common weale must be forced with paines, and fome by rewards allured) may appeare by that which the wife and politique fenatour Tully wryteth: faying, that it was the wordes of Solon, which was one of the feuen wyfe men of Greece, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefely, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked then they be to exercise the plough, but that in processe of time, so many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in feuen yeares, we should then onot onely haue dearth, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to feeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

How would yee haue them better chearished to vse the plough? Knight. To let them have more profit by it then they have, & liberty to Doctor.

That some thinges are to be allured by revvardes, and some other vvith straighte paynes forced, in a common-

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte, the lesse it shalbe frequen-

[Free Trade in Corn needed.] fell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of come would rife, fpecially at the first, more then at length; yet that price would prouoke euerie man to set the plough in the grounde, to Till waste grounds, yea, & to turne the lands that is now enclosed for pasture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow that, wherein they see the more gaines; and thereby must nedes ensue, both greater plenty of come within the realme, and also much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof; And, besides that, plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

[1 Fol. 23, back]

Knight.
Doctor.

Profit vvill
make husband
en more occupied, & there
by more profit,
and consequently better
cheape of
come.

Knight.

Doctor.

[Husbandmen sure to keep a stock of corn in hand.]

[2 Fol. 24]

That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Ye have heard that by this free vent and fale of corne, the huf-bandmans profit is advaunced; then it is shewed that every man naturally will follow that wherein he sees profit ensu; therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry; & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must nedes be; And the more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And also the more will be spared over that which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniversall breede should be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geese, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al these are reared much on corne.

If men shoulde sell, when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is serued, what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of come is left of the good yeare before?

Fyrst, ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to finde themselues within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same; and having libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubte yee not but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in sending it ouer, and sell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge provoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must needes be great store; ² and though they did not so, but should sell over sea all that they might spare over that

ferues the realme when the yere is plentifull; yet, by reason that [Free Trade in through the meanes aforefaid moe Ploughes are fet aworke then increase the would fuffice the Realme in a plentifull yeare; if a scarce yeare should that we should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yeare would be even in a scarce more then enough in an vnfruitefull yeare, at the leaste would be sufficient to finde the Realme; & fo should the Realme be served with enough of corne in a scarce yeare, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be fold ouer for great treasure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeare we feeke to haue but afmuch as may fuffice the Realme. Then if a fcarfe yeare should happen, we must needes lacke of our owne to serue, and should be dryuen to buy from beyond the fea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they fay, when we requyred any corne of them, (that feing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue fcarsitie? Surely common reason would that one region should helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should have all [God has orcommodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that that one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the fame yeare, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and focietie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our felues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & fends vs [We can't live lift our felues. many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not line without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee have competently thereof, yet wee have 'not the thirde parte to fuf- [+Fol. 24, back] fice the Realme, and that can in no wife be spared if yee wil occupy husbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and steele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, fpyces, lynnen cloth, filkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility should it be, as I deny not but many things wee might have heere and we ought to fufficiently that wee buy now from beyond sea, and many things wee them freely] might spare wholly; whereof, if time will serue, I shall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the first poynte I spake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry vp, that is, by basing the

Corn would so have plenty

daind that one country should help another.]

without other products,

exchange with

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STAFFORD.

good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may base any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunfing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunsed together, as by the last deuise I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuerthelesse, where as you (brother Mercer) shewed afore, that either by reftraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunfing the cuftome of wooll and other the fayd commodities, till the price befide the custome of the fayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, the Quenes custome shoulde bee diminished; I thinke not fo, for the one way, as much as the shoulde have for the more wooll at litle custome ventred ouer, so much should we have for the leffe wooll at a greater cuftome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her grace winne by the custome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuise, what, if they should take place, we must doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other things that we have now from beyonde fea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more 1 of straungers then we do fell them, for fo we should impouerish our selues and enrich them. were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he felles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might faue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number first of trisles comes bether from beyond the fea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treafure euery yere, or els exchaunge fubftantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might recease great treasure. Of the which fort I meane as well looking glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of filke & filuer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like

thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the

Whether the Quee. custome should be diminished by restraint of vvoll vnvvrought.

[We must keep the balance of trade with foreigners equal.]

[Fol. 25]

Hovve straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles.

[Foreign knick-nacks that we could well do without, or make here.]

realme fufficient for vs; and as for fome thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and fend it vs againe, whereby they fet their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerfeis; of our felles they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Saltfellers, Spoones, and Difhes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges; Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for every of These thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man can be con- [Foreign goods tented now with any other Gloues, then be made in Fraunce or in Spayne; nor Kersie, but it must bee of Flaunders die; nor Cloth, but French or Fryseadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of Venice making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, 1 Knife or Gyrdle, but of [1 Fol. 25, back] fpanish making, or some outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I have heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes, Glaffes, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, The encrease and fuch thinges, not a dosen in all London; & now from the tower ers & mileners to Westminster alonge, euery streate is full of them, and their shoppes vyont to be. glitter and shyne of Glasses as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of vessell of the same stuffe,-paynted Cruses, gaye Daggers, [Glittering Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels; that it is able to make any temperate tempt buyers.] man to gafe on them and to buy fomewhat, though it ferue to no purpose necessarie. What neede they beyonde sea to trauaile to Perowe, or fuch farre countreies, or to trie out the fandes of the ryuers of Tagus in Spaine, pactolus in Asia, and Ganges in India, to get amonge Hovy the straumthem after much labour small sparkes of gold; or to digge the deepe easyer vvay to bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre fought for, and of pryple? Stones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not so litle as a hundreth thoufand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treasure for thinges of no valure of themselues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the fame, which are fet a worke all on our charges. What grofnes of What asses we wits be we of, that se it, and suffer such a continual spoyl to be made £100,000 a year of our good and treasure by such meanes! and specially that will suf-nonsenses in fer our owne commodities to goe and fet straungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy in requiring straungers Wares.

that are the fashion in England.]

of haberdashouer they vvere

get treasure by thinges of no value, then by any mynes of gould or siluer. [2 pybble, pebble.]

in foreign

Hove straungers finde their nation with our commodities, and on our costes.

[2 Fol. 26]

[Why don't we make up our own materials?]

Knight,

[Foreign work, tho' doubly taxt, sells cheaper than ours does.]

Doctor.

Why straungers may aforde vvares better cheape made by them, then vve may the same made here, & yet that it vvere better for vs to buy our owvne though they vvere dearer.

[An English Paper-maker undersold by foreign paper imported.

The latter should have been heavily customd.] [2 Fol. 26, back]

Knight.

to buy them againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kersies, Friseadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea, & bryng them hether to bee solde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne stuffe againe. Yea, for the straungers custome, for their workelmanshippe and colours, and lastely for the second custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again; where as, by working the same within the realme, our owne now should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder fuch thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the fame, yee speake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though straungers buy their woll deare, & pay twise custome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would saine knowe.

Whether it come of our floth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Englishmen vse, percase, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for these wares, then to straungers lesse; for how litle gaines fo euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare; but how much fo euer the gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all faued with in the Realme; and a like reason as you make now heere, Once a Booke-feller made mee, when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within the realme, as well as they had made beyond the fea? Then he aunswered mee that there was paper made a while within the realme. At the last the man perceived that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond the sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper flaied from comming in, or fo burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then straungers might do 2 theires, the customes considered.

There, ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agree vnto; for if such ware were made within the realme, then the

Queenes custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that should Doctor come after, as that which is prefent afore the eyes, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, inestimable treasure should The most durabe faued within the realme; and then it could not growe to the profit profits more of the fubiects; but it must needes growe also to the profite of the then short and Queene, for the wealth of the subjectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beste prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie, but rather that commodity that may longest endure without griefe of her subjects.

to be esteemed

ble & vniuers al

You would have a lawe made, that no fuch ware should be brought Knight. from beyond the fea to be foulde heere, of fuch things as could be made heere as wel as there.

Yea, forfooth! fo would I wishe.

Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when fuch a thinge was mooued, but Knight. onely for Cappes, that none made beyond fea flould bee fould heere within the Realme, and then it was auniwered by a greate wife man, Whether our that it was to bee feared leaft it touched the league made betwene the touch the Princes highnesse & some forraigne Prince; what thinke you, then, with other Prynces. would have bene faid, if yee would have moved a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond fea, should haue bene fould heere?

restraints doe leagues made

I cannot tell, whether that should touch the league or no, nor Doctor. whether any fuch league be: but I say to you, that I think it a maruaylous league that shoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne fubiects, that might be profitable to them; 1 and if there were any [x Fol. 27] fuch league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being No league is broken, shoulde doe vs good, & being kept, should doe vs harme; and shed that is I suppose, that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for monveale. our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be esteemed that might hinder our common weale.

to be cheri-

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the fea, that wares Knighte. made within this realme should not bee soulde there, as they made of tate, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried hether in straungers bottomes.

Yet, should they be enforced rather to dissolue their law then we Doctor.

[English exports

and imports.]

A vvorthy example to be followed in vsing of straungers,

[The Caermarthen Bayliff who refused to let English apples

be exchang'd for Welsh friezes and wool]

[1 Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we imitate the Welshmen, and refuse to change

our cloths and metals for foreign rattles, &c, but consent to do so for good flax, fish, &c.?]

ours; for our stuffe is necessary for them that is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheefe, pewter veffel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to ferue pleafure then necessity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glasses, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenges, Pippens, and Cheries; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs then retayned of them: as wynes, filkes, fpices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, that I heard of it to do of late, heere in the Marches of Walles, called Carmarthen, when there came a certayne Vessell thether out of England, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the fayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Bote stoode so long in the Hauen without fale or vent, till the Appells were putrified and loft. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had flayed his fale and vent? the Bayliffe aunswered againe, that the fayd vessell came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll; and in fleede thereof hee should leave them in their countrey but appells, that should be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd, 'bring vnto 'vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof the countrey hath need, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee shall have free vent and sale thereof in our Porte': thinke yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Briftowe, Chefter, and other moe, might they not learne a good letion of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they fay, when shippes full of Orrenges, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde have free exchaunge? and when they bring in Glasses, Puppets, Rattles, and fuch like thinges, they should have like trifles for them, if any fuch were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerseyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and filuer, and fuch fubstantiall and necessary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyshe, & such like. And not to vse them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the best Iewell that they have about them. And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure & chiese commoditie, and cannot perceaue it; fuch is the finenesse of straungers wits and the grofnes of ours; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

no more but chearishe their deuises that be straungers; but we have in Of the coyne, times past deuised our selues many other wayes, to our owne im- wight haue pouerishment, and to exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to alteration of it. that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of thinges (in comparison of former times) and of the maniffelft impouerishinge of the Realme, and might in short time haue ben that destruction of the same, if it [The chief cause of all our evils is had not bene the rather remedied, that is, the basing or rather the the debasing of corrupting of our coyne & treasure; whereby we deuised a way for the straungers, not only to buy our Gold and filuer for braffe, and to exhauft this realme of treasure; but also to buy our chiefe commodities 1 in maner for naught; yet it was thought this should have beene [1 Fol. 28] a meane, not onely to bryng our treasure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, fo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

grovvne of the

our coin.]

be any metal,

based on gold or

Forfooth, and fuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot per- Knight. ceaue what hinderance it should be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), feeing the Coyne is but a token to [Coin may well goe from man to man, & when it is stricken with the Princes seale to leather, or be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper?

You fay but as most fort of men doe fay, and yet they bee farre Doctor. wide from the trueth, as men that doe not confider the thinge groundly; for by that reason God would neuer send dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickely remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a bushell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him [Argument felfe, and also his subjects, made of brasse, to pay for the same; and so against a currency not to make it as easy for him and his subjectes to pay a Crowne of such silver.] mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a penny for the same; and as the pryce of Corne doth rise, the Prince might raise the estimation of his coyne after the rate, and so keepe the coyne alwayes at one estate in deede, though in name it should seeme to rise. As for example, suppose Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bushell, & the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might cause the grote to be called viii.d.; and if the bushel rose to xii.d. the bushel, he might raise the estate of the grote to xii.d.; and so whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

[Fol. 28, back]

by enhaunfing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might, if your reason were true, keepe alwaies not onely come, but also all other victualls and necessaries for 1 mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary; but yee may fee dayly by experience the contrary hereunto, for when God fendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease as for their subjectes; and might foone doe it, if your reason afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what fumme they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this eafily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what estimation it pleafed him; but he that fo thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of filuer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the first sorte, the fixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other forte is the twelfth part of an ownce of filuer vnderstanded; and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we must confider, though gould & filuer be the mettals commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges between man and man, yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchaunged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of fuch wares that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary fo much of the wares that we have aboundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be ca²ried so farre without perishing of the same, nor proporcioned so euen, as there should be always neither more or lesse brought of our wares then were equivalent with other wares that we receive; therefore were the mettalles of gold & filuer deuised as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least combrous

to cary, and least subject to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

The substaunce and quantity is esteemed in coyne, & not the name

[Wares are the subject of exchange, tho' under the name of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5 Eth. And may be cut and deuided in moste pieces and portions, without any losse, to bee as the mean in Wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuised, necessity would cause vs to deuise the same way againe. For, put the case there were no vse of deuised. money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares, as fomtimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue fuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for example, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheese & Butter, and such other commodities, as were sufficient for ne. Li. 1. vs; and there shoulde remaine with vs such great store that wee could not fpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perifhing. Would not we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of thinges that could not abyde the longe keeping, for fuch wares that woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchaunge againe for fuch wares as I rehearfed, or any other as necessary, when scarsity of the same should happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee shoulde study to haue in that exchaunge fuch wares as would go in least romth, and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, & be most currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer¹ the thinges that be most of that forte, I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keping, aptest to receive any forme, marke, & moste current in all places, & most easely deuided into many pieces without losse of the stuffe? In some of these poynts I confesse precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in [Precious stones value or lightnesse of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided ² without perishing of the substaunce; nor put agayne together after [2Fol. 29, back] they be once deuided, nor many of them abide fo many daungers without perifhing of the matter, nor yet receive any marke or stampe easely, nor be so vniuerfally estemed; therefore they be not so meete for Instruments of Exchaunge as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtnesse of cariage might be. And, because Gold and Siluer haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by Publica mencommon affent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchaunge to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried far or kepte in store to receive for thinges, whereof we have abundance, and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we have most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchaunge of thinges, as I

That the necessity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchaung made Coyne to bee

Hom. F. de emptione & vendicatio-

[rorig. Silt uer] Why Gold & siluer vvere the stuffe most meete for coine to bee stricken in.

not so fit.]

fayd fometime there was; fet this case, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in hys house in source yeares after, and perceived that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarse yeare shoulde come; and if he did, much of it shoulde perish, or all; were it not wisedome for him then to exchaunge the overplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of wast, or deminishing, for the which he myghte at all times have either Corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vse of Silver or Golde, he would have Tinne, brasse, or Leadde, or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to have that thinge most that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, & moste vniversally received, wherein Gold and Silver excesses all other mettalles.

[Convenience of a metallic currency.]

Knight.
Doctor.
[1 Fol. 30]

Knight.

[The merits of Silver]

Doctor.

Why Golde, & Syluer are estemed afore al other mettalles. What makes these Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both ¹ in pleasure and vse; partly the rarity of them.

What be these qualities? If yee prayse the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in these pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgementes (whose colour resembleth the day lyght for his clerenesse) passeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, because it is furthest of seene in the Fielde, nor neuer seemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of; where all other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of theyrowne.

As much as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point—I fpeake of weight and pliablenes—it is cast behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either passeth Siluer, by some other mens iudgementes, because it resembles the colour of the celestiall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the most excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodely sences of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is esteemed; well I wote Prynces blase their armes most with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel. But now to esteeme theyr other qualityes: Golde is neuer wasted nor consumed by sire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it desyleth not the thing

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the stuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that Silver] it should draw so black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it felf. Then there is no rust nor scurfe that diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth the substaunce of Gold; it abides the freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar without damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as foone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll, 1 as it were Woll; it is [1 Fol. 30, back] eafily fpred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is also nothinge inferiour in commodity of making veffels or other Inftrumentes to filuer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more fweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth Siluer in commenda [ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, [The uses of fweetenes, and lightnes. And it ferues not onely to make veffels and other inftruments, but it is also sponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I have hearde; church Vestures were made onely of It is now spun Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being fpon with filke and vestments.] guilte, they counterfeite the olde excesse of clothe of Golde and tyssue. Now to speake of other mettalls, yee see what vses they serue for, whych if these were away should bee more esteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the fayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet [The scarceness more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, fo Dame nature feemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and that the favrest thinges, as they be hardest to be attained, so they be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as Erasmus sayth wel) were as rare as filter, Were Glass as it should be as deare as filuer, and not without cause; who could it 'ld be as dear.] glase a Window with filuer so as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuerthelesse receive the commodity of the light through the same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might commend other things for their vse afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & fteele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many necessary vses then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vses that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I passe ouer that matter. Thus I have shewed some reason why these mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in estimation aboue other.

The merits of

of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.

60

Knight.
[1 Fol. 31]

Why Golde & Siluer vvere coined.

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33 Cap. 3.

Sometime brasse, siluer & Gold vvere vveighed before Coyne made.

Inst. de test. ord. § 1.

[Coin markt to guarantee its weight]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why losse commeth of credence. ¹Why doe Kynges and Princes ftricke these mettalles and other with a Coyne? but because they would have that coyne, of what value so ever it be, to beare the estate that the coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. Then I had as liese have small gadds or plats of Silver and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge.

Surely the time was fo, (euen amonge the Romaynes, when neither braffe, filuer, nor golde was coined;) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth these vocables of coynes, as Libra, Pondo, Dipondius, as Solidus, Denarius, wordes of waightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending the same weights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called Libri pendes, whereof we have mencion made in the Ciuile lawe; but, because in great traffique & assembly of buyers, & fuch, it was tedious to tary for the weighing of these Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with feueral markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to affure the Receivor the fame to be no leffe then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strake the pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of the ounce, and fo after the variety of the weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, fo that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge affured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was fignified by the marke fet on euery one; the Prynces credite was then fuch amonge their fubiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As foone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with the marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce, 2a while their credite made those coynes currant. As I read among the Romaynes practized more then once, but affoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then the one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite; much like as I have knowne certain townes in England to have done

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to fet their feales to the fame; while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the seale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby there townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and confequently profpered very well. Afterward, some in these townes, not contented with reasonable gaines contynuall, and desiering more, Deuised clothes of leffe lengthe, bredth, and goodneffe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the feale to haue as much Money for the fame as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credite of theyr Predecessors to theyr singuler Luker, which was recompensed with the loffe of theyr Posterity. For after these Clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales, they were not onely neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for theyr Seale, then the seal yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth good cloths.] and falshoode was espied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enfearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the feale; and yet because they founde them vntrue in some parte, they mistrusted them in other; and fo would geue lesse for those clothes then for any other lyke, having no Seales to the fame, whereby the credite of the faid townes was loft, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not fee that our Coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Henry 1the eyghte, specially among [1 Fol. 32] Straungers, whych euer before defiered to ferue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheefe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the fame, either good Golde or filuer, or els as neceffary commodities agayne; then they fent vs eyther fuch trifles as I spake of before: as Glasses, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and fuch light ware that standeth them in no charge or vse, or els (if it be true that I have heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they fent vs Braffe for our Treasure of Golde and filuer, and for our fayd commodities; I warrant you, yee fawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer for our Treavnto vs, as it was before vsed, & no maruayle; to what purpose should commodities? they bring filuer or Golde thither, whereas the fame was not effeemed? Therefore, I have heard fay for a truth, and I beleeve it the rather to

Some English towns stampt their fullmeasure cloths with a seal, and buyers bought by the seal only.]

[Then some scamps put the seal on shortmeasure cloths.]

The cheat was found out, and discredited even

[So our base coin was soon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons,

What doe stransure & chiefe

[Debasd English com imported from abroad.] bee true, because it is likely, that after that our Coyne was based and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde the meanes to have greate Masses of that transported hether, and here vitered it well for our olde Golde and filuer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconvenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were suffered, in a small compasse of time?

Knight.

There be fearchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for flaying of fuch false Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor.

How our olde coyne may bee transported, & the Prince or her officers not knowing of it. [F Fol. 32, back] We deuise the rediest vvay to driue avvay our treasure.

I fayd fo to the man that tolde mee the fame tale that I tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes balast, or in some vesselles of Wyne or other Lyquor, transported either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not searchers; And if they had, they bee not such saintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue such a pryce? was not that the rediest way to drive away our golde from vs? every thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went over in heapes.

Knight.

I believe well, that these were meanes to exhaust the olde treasure from vs, which yee have rejected; but how it should make every thing so deare among our selves, since the time (as yee sayd it doth), I cannot yet perceave the reason.

Doctor.

Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reason hereof wee payde dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight.

That cannot be denied.

Doctor.

By howe much, thinke you?

Knight.

By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne theyr wares?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that felleth good

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cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

Doctor.

You have your felfe declared the reason why things within the Realme proved after that time so deare; for wee must buy deare all things bought from beyond the fea, & therefore wee must sell agayne why thinges as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our felues. realme should And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of the thing maketh it playner; for where yee fay that euery thing bought beyond the fea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do vee not fee the fame proportion rayled in our wares, if it be not more

What loffe haue wee by this, when wee fell our commodities as Knight. deare as wee buy others?

<sup>1</sup> I graunte to one forte of men, I accompt it no losse; yea, to some Doctor. other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some other fort a [xFol. 33] greater losse then it is profit to that other; yea, generally to the vtter impouerishing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly.

I pray you, what be those forts that yee meane? And first of those Knight. that yee thinke should have losse thereby?

I meane al these that lives by buying and selling; for, as they buy Doctor deare, they fell thereafter.

What is the next fort that yee fay would win by it?

Knight.

Mary, all fuch as haue takinges or Fearmes in theyr owne manur- Doctor. ance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they fell Some had after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and fell all things growing thereof deare.

gaynes by the alteration of

What forte is that which yee fayde should have greater losse here- Knight. by, then these men had profit?

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that live either by a Doctor. stented rent or stypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or felling.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, Knight. and by courfe.

I will gladly: firste, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the Doctor. most part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may fpend now by fuch Who had losse by the alteration of Coine. his father, or any other before him, that could fpend but nigh CC.li.; and so yee may perceive it is a great abatement of Mans Countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore

[ Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their countryhouses, and get chambers in London.]

[12d. now won't go so far as 8d. of old.]

[Yeomen's wages,—40s. a year, and 20d. a week boardwages, are doubled.]

Knight.
[Servingmen,]

Doctor.
[Servingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and

[Servingmen's gay dress now.]

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

gentlemen doe study so much the increase of their Lands and enhaunfing of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and pastures to their owne handes as yee fee they doe, and all to feeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predecef I fors did, and yet they came shorte there in. Some other, feeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no prouifion they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houfholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spend their time, some of them with a seruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other forte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that having but their olde stented wages, cannot finde them felues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or spoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go fo far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men fo euill willing to ferue the Prince now a dayes, from that they were wont to bee. Also, where xl. shillinges a yere was honest wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was fufficient, nowe double as much will skante beare their charge.

That is longe of theyr excesse, as well in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maisters were wont to doe in times past.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter, and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body, And with a piece of biefe, or some other dishe of sodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the least, for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shalbe garded, cut, & stitched; and the breches of their hose so drawen with silke, that the work manship shall farre passe the pryce of the stuffe. And thys thing is not restrained as it should be, but rather cherished of the Maisters, on striuing with the other who may bee most proude, and whose retinue may goe most lauish & gay for a time of showe; whereas through such

exceffe they are fayne all the rest of the yere to keepe the fewer seruauntes. And so in excesse of meates, they fare at some tymes in the [Excess in food yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houses at all, or if they doe it shalbe very smal. Like excesses as well in apparell as in fare were yied in Rome, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, so as wyse men haue thought it was occasion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, Cato and diverse wyse senatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for restrainte of such excesses; and for that, through the infolencie of some that maintained the contrary, the same were not duly executed, much pride enfued there, and of pride, diuision; and through deuision, ytter desolation of the common weale. God this Realme may beware by that example, specially London, the head of the empyre, where fuch excesses (by reason the Wealth al- [London goes to most of thys Realme is heaped up there, as the Corne of a Field into a excess in dress barne) be most vsed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of necessity keepes men in a good case for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went fimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heavy Swordes and [Light swords Buckelers on their thighes, in fted of cuts and Gardes and light daunfing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in theyr carrid: men are hands, in stede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without strength.

the greatest and food.]

for heavy, and white rods for so effeminate. 7

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within the realm, that Knight. men be not forced to ride fo ftrong. It was a troblous 1 world as well [1 Fol. 34, back] within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ípeake.

What can you tell what time or how fone fuch a world may come Doctor. again? Wife men do fay, that in peace men must looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be al- In peace, looke waies fure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. fith it is otherwise, and that the iniquitie of men is such as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we recken heere in Englande our chiefe strength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wifedome to exercise them in tyme of peace, somwhat wyth such apparell, fare, and hardenes, as they muste needes sustayne in time of warre, SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STAFFORD.

for vvarre.

The strength of England is in Servingmen and Yeomen.]

then the same shall bee no nouelty to them when they come to it; and theyr bodies shall bee strong, and harder to beare that that they were fomewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this that I say be of no [1 orig. deticacie] credite, if delicacie and tendernes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greatest Empyres that were.

Knight. [Men can only bear light armour now.]

[2 orig. a a]

[New fine houses. ]

Doctor.

[Building good for the realm.]

[3 Fol. 35; mis-numberd 36] ig, neigh-

Of excesse in building.

Knight.

Did not the taking of the Church Revenues by the Crown send much money abroad?]

Surely, ye fay very wel, and that which foundeth to good reason. I must needes alowe that I have found true my selfe, for my men are fo tenderly vsed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heavy armour in time of warre, but either shirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a<sup>2</sup> shotte may perhaps deceyue vs. fave you by our buildinges, that wee have here in Englande of late dayes, far more excessive then at any time heretofore? Doth not that impouerish the Realme, & cause men to keepe lesse Houses?

I fay that all these thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubte is cause of lesse Housholdes, sith the buildings and trimming of those houses spendes away that that should be otherwise fpent in houshold. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the most part, is spent amonges our felues & 3 amonges our neighbours 4 and Countreymen: As amongs Carpenters, Masons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peinting of these Houses. For in that much treasure may be spent, and to no vse. Also the Areses, Verderers, and Tapistry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conucieth ouer into Flaunders & other ftraunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

Syr, yet I must remember you of one thing more, which men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spendinge of the treasure abroade; & it is where there is comen to the crown of late yeares much lands, by reason of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauntres dissolued, which men suppose hath bene the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure abroade in the Realme. One is, because the reuenues of the fayd places, diffolued heretofore, were spent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of the countrey. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the fame, to buy perfelles of the fayd diffolued landes, lying commodities for them; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the countrey is fweeped away.

Truth it is, also, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, Doctor. and had kept it so still if the Kynges Maiestye had not dispersed the [No, it only transferred the same lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after that possession of the land from one his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by man here to gift and part by fale, treasure hath and will encrease againe, abroad, asmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; so that I take that to be no great cause of the dearth that we have, for the foyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee 1 [1]eft, I Knight. haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did fome Men no harme, as Buyers and fellers: fome other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and fome other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, feruaunts, and all other lyuing by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you fay it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, How did Henry VIII's debasethat it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in processe of ment of our time. I meruayle how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that Country? the Queenes hignesse Father did winne inestimable great summes by

the altera[t]ion of the Coyne. So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to fuch as men haue Doctor. when they fell away their Lands, to have the greater some at one time, and euer after to loofe the contynuall increase what should Hovv the altegrow therof. For you knowe al the treasure of this Realme must Coyne should once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abrode againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the Ocean Sea, & out of it are they fpred abroad againe; then, as they came into the kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in fuch as you have heretofore feene. And, albeit it feemeth at the first viewe to empouerishe but the subiects only, at length it empouerisheth also the Prynce; and then, if the armour and Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of shippes, gunnes, and other artillary, necessary for the warre, and could by no meanes have of the fubiectes wherewith to buy the fame, what cause should the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, Nerui bellorum, (that is to say)

[ Fol. 35, back]

Coin injure the

ration of the he most losse to the Prince.

THow can the Prince buy artillery from abroad, with base coin ?]

[Coin the Sinews of War.]

[r Fol. 36]

[We can't have base or fancy coin, so long as we want to buy foreign goods]

[Stafford's two

stop the importation of trifles;

2. forbid the export of raw, unwrought, materials.]

Knight.

[No Clothiers wanted here.]

Doctor. [2 Fol. 36, back]

Knight.
[Unemployd Clothiers the cause of all insurrections.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest daunger that I doe confider shoulde growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme; <sup>1</sup> for though a Prynce may have what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the ftraungers cannot be compelled to take And I graunt, if men might liue within themselues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what covne we woulde; but fince wee must have neede of other, and they of vs, wee must frame our things, not after our owne phantafies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not fet the price of things at our pleafure, but follow the price of the vniuerfall Market of the World. I graunt, also, that Braffe hath bene coyned ere this; yea, & Leather in fome places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust, (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge Henry the eight,) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then the deprauing of our coines, which ferueth the Prince but a litle while, for fome present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perfwaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanes: first, if we forbad the bringing in and selling of fo many trifles as I before reherfed to be brought vs from beyond the fea, & that nothing made beyond the fea of our owne commodities should be fould heere. And secondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities shoulde passe vnwrought ouer sea, which being wrought here, and foulde ouer, should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time.

Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wife man, which thinke it better that all our wooll were fould ouer fo vnwrought, then any Clothiers shoulde be set a worke withall within this realme.

That were a straunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man shoulde thinke so; and what should mooue them to be 2 of that opynion, I pray you?

I will tell you. They take it, that all infurrections & vproares, for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers

idle; And, when they be idle, then they affemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre Whether all the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. fometimes by occasion of warres, there must needes bee some stay of uer vnyvrought Clothes, fo as they cannot have alwayes lyke fale or vent; at every which time, if the fayd Clothiers thould take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and confequently, that the woll were vttered vnwrought ouer fea then to have it wrought here.

And, were expedient to be sould o-

So it may feeme to them that confidereth one inconvenience and Doctor. not another. Surely, whofoeuer hath many Perfons vnder his Gouernaunce shall have much a doe to governe them in quietnesse; and hee that hath a greate family, shall have sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminishe hys number, for a Maister of a House to put away hys Seruaunts, because he would not have any trouble with the governaunce of them; he that would fo doe might be well refembled to a man that should fell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease the feate of [We want our clothing, but also intend divers other mo feates and occupations, trade increast, wherby our People might bee fet a worke, rather then take away any brought in.] occupation from them; specially such as clothinge is, that settes so many thousandes a woorke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupyed in Venice, as I have heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that bryngs in lany newe Arte or mifterye, whereby the people might be fet a [1Fol. 37] worke, with fuch thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and Mysteries are also bring some treasure or other commodity into the Countrey. And rather than dishall we contrarywise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be fet a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

cloth-making and more trades

to be encrease[d] minished.

Mary! wee might have treasure ynough from outward Parties for Knighte. our Woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to fet our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee [Set Clothiers to fet to the Plough and husbandry, and that should make husbandry to

ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & grafing leffe, when all these people that nowe doe occupy clothing should fall to husbandry.

Doctor.

[If every one bred sheep,

we should have no men to defend the realm. And if Clothiers turnd Husbandmen, they'd starve.]

[1 Fol. 37, back]

[In France are many trades, and the artisans make rows, but no one wants to destroy the men.

As to the first that yee sayd, that Wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuaunce of the Realme. For when every man would fall to breede sheepe, and to increase Wooll, and so at length all other occupations should bee set a side, and breedinge of sheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would ferue for a whole Shyre; & so in processe of time the multitude of the fubiects should be worne away; and none lefte but a fewe Sheepherds, which were no number fufficient to ferue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupation to hufbandry; how coulde fo many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the fame, when they that bee husbandmen nowe have but a small Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde fay to mee that they shoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of 1their corne ouer fea, then commeth the fame inconvenience in that ye thought to avoide before, by putting them from clothing. For fome yeres it should happen either for warres, or by reason of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they should have no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and confequently for lacke of living to affemble together, and make like vproares as ye spake of before.

They have in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we have here by a greate deale; and for all that they have made many greate flurres and commotions there before this, yet they will not deftroy Artificers; for, they know that the highest Prynces of them all, without such artificers, could not maintaine their estate. Doe not all theyr toules, customes, taxes, tallages, and subsidies, chiefely growe by such artificers? What king can maineteine his estate with his yearly revenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many servaunts in a house, well set a worke, gaines every man somewhat to their maister: So doth every artificer in a Realme ech gaine somewhat; and altogether, a great masse to the king & his realm every yeare it bringeth.

And now, because we are entred into communication of artificers,

who are the riches of the land.]

Knight.

I will make this division of them. Some of them doe but convey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first [r. Middlemen fort, I recken all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and fuch as doe fell wares growing beyond the fea, and do fetch out One bringeth our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers, as I recken them sure. tollerable, yet not fo necessary in a common Weale but they might be best spared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe 1 cary forth, we should be greate [1 Fol. 38, misloofers by them. Of the fecond forte bee these Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Victailers Another spend of all fortes, which, like as they get their liuing in the countrey, fo in the same they spend it; but they bring in no treasure vnto vs. Therefore, we gayne. must chearish well the third fort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their mifteries & faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheefe, thefe be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the industrye of a fewe persons; and if wee shoulde onely trust to such, and deuyse nothing els to occupy our felues with, a few persons would serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange, better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be fubicete to the spoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of his owne kinde is sorth food for apte to bringe forth fuch thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for beasts rather than men.] fuch thinges as be for the nourishment of men. If Pomponius Mela Pomp. Me. be to be beleeued, which, descrybing thys Ilande, sayeth thus: Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum, que pecora, quam homines benignius alant; That is to fay, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of these things that nourisheth Beastes more kindely then men.' So many Forestes, Chases, Parkes, Marshes, and waste groundes being more here then most commonly elswhere, declare the same not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not fo much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and fuch as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, fo they finde most persons foode, as Fraunce and diverse other Countries have.

importers.]

numberd 34]

that they get countrey a-

The thrid sort bring in Treasure, and there fore must be cherished.

rFol 38, back]

[New trades wanted in

England.]

Therefore, as much grounde <sup>1</sup>as is here apte for these things, would be tourned as much as may be to such vses as may finde moste persons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glassers, Paynters, Golde-smithes, blacke-smithes of al sortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and such other; so as we should not onely haue inough of such thinges to serue our Realme, and saue an infinyte treasure that goeth now ouer for many of the same; but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be solde ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also saue & winne much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich divers countreyes that be else baren of them selves.

Mysteries doe enrich countries that be els barren.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enricht by their manufactures.] And what riches they bringe to the Countries where they be well vied, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through fuch occupations, it hath fo many & eke fo wealthy Cities that it were almost incredible so litle grounde to sustaine so much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, that would have either none or els lesse clothing within this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing every way so commodious or necessary for mans vse, but it is sometimes, by ill handling, occasion of some displeasure, no, not sier and water that be so necessary, as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Yea, mafter Doctor, we ftand not in like case as Fraunce or Flaunders that yee speake of; if they have not vente one way, they may have it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, 2 to whose Countreyes they may sende theyr commodities to sell.

[2 Fol. 39]

Doctor.

Aliaunce vvith straungers are to be purchased and kept. So may wee bee, if wee were fo wyse to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad, being a Private man, but hee will be sure to doe so? Let wyse men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time past. And if they bee nowe lost or intercepted another way since, let vs purchase other for them; or els geue as litle occasion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

The Wyse man, as I remember, sayth in Ecclesiastes: Non est bonum homini esse solum.

Also, in Fraunce they have diverse Bandes of men in Armes, in Knight. diuerse places of the Realme, to represse such Tumults quickely if any should arise. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

GOD fworbote1 that euer wee shoulde have any such Tyrauntes Husband. come among vs; for, as they fay, fuch will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouifion, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauishe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner fayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather Marchaunt. bee an occasion of Commotions to bee stirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee fayd) the Stomaks of Englishe men woulde neuer beare to fuffer fuch Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that fuch vsed to doe to the Subjects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Pefaunts.

[x Gods forbode, God's forbidding. p 74.] Tvranny over the poor in

Mary, the Prynce might reftrayne them well ynough, for doing Knight. Outrages, vpon great paynes.

[French 'Peasants.']

What if it were skant in his power to do? the Romaines had some- Doctor. times fuch men of armes in diuerse places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer threwe the fame. Iulius Cafar [2 Fol. 39, back] doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lysted, sometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the Senate of Rome, being chiefe Counsaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane destroyed; it is not for commotions of Subjects that Fraunce also keepeth such, but the state and necessity of the Coun[France must keep troops; trey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither fea nor wall betwene them, against whose Inrodes and inuasion they mayntayne those men of warr of necessity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durft, for feare of their neighbours. And fome wyfe men among them have fayd and written, that the same men of Armes may and yet they bee the deftruction of their Kingdome at length. And befide that the country.] largenesse of our Dominion, or Situation of the same towarde other Countreyes, doth not require fuch men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare our selues in-

may destroy the

74

A lesse griefe vvould not be holpen with a greater sore. feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in fucceffes, through the ftoutenesse of our Englishe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a small fore cured by a greater griefe, nor for auoydinge of populer sedition, which happeneth very seldome and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

Knighte.

You fay well, and so as I can fay no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying coulde satisfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor.

Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I have troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. Marchaunt & Capper. I could be content to be troubled longer of that forte.

And so coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe, gentle maister Doctor.

Knighte. [I Fol 40, misnumberd 36] <sup>1</sup>Yet the most necessary poynte which we spake of is yet behinde, that is, how these thinges may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor.

A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part; But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. God sworbote. Compare in the Percy Folio Robin Hood, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, gods forbott" said the Sheriffe, "that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forebedynge (or *forbode*, or forefendynge). *Prohibicio*, *inhibicio*."—Promptorium, ab. 1440 A.D.]

## THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuised

fome remedies for the same griefes.



Fter wee had well refreshed our selues at Knight. fupper, I thought long til I had knowne the iudgement of mayster Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore

country's ills.]

I fayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good mai- [Pray, Doctor, tell us the remefter Doctor) our diseases, and also the occasions thereof, we pray you dies for our leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You have perfwaded vs full, and wee perceaue it well our felues, that wee are not now in so good state as wee haue bene in times past. And you haue shewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore now wee praye you shewe vnto vs what mighte remedye these our griefes.

When a man doth perceaue his griefe, and the occasion also of the Doctor. same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occafion of the griefe, a man may foone avoide the fame occasion; and that being anoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the Phylosopher fayth: Sublata causa tollitur effectus. But, let vs briefly recount the griefes and then the occasions thereof, and thirdly goe to the [The ills are, inquisition of the remedies for the same. First, this vniuersall 1 dearth, 1. Dearth. in comparison of that former age, is the chiefest griefe that all men [\* Fol. 47] complaines most on. Secondly, Inclosures, & turnyng of erable 2. Inclosures, Grounde to pasture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Towneshippes, Arable into and Villages; and last, deuision & diversitie of opinions in religion. 3. Decay of Towns. The occasions or causes of these, although I have before diversely 4 Religious Differences.]

and turning

[The Doctor's Prologue.]

The originall cause in enery thing is to be searched.

[Analogies of, 1 a crowd at a narrow passage;

2. a clock, and

the building of a house ]

[The original cause calld 'efficient']

[1 Fol. 41, back]

Diuerse sortes of causes there bee.

[The primary cause to be distinguisht from secondary causes.]

Cic top.

declared after the diuerfitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I will take out of the fame; But only fuch as I thinke verely to be the very just occasions in deede. For, as I shewed you before, divers men diverfly judge this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that gryefe; and because there may be divers causes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cause that bryngeth forth the thinge to passe: Let vs seeke oute the cause, omitting all the meane causes, whych are driven forward by the least oryginall cause. As in a presse going in at a straight, the formost is driven by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by fome violent and stronge thinge that dryues hym forwarde, which is the first and pryncipall cause of the puttynge forwarde of the rest afore him. If he were kept backe and staied, al they that goe afore would ftay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the first wheele being styrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the last that moues the Instrument that stryckes the clock; So in making of an house, there is the Mayster that would have the house made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the ftuffe to make the house with al; the stuffe neuer stirres till the Workeman do fet it forward; the workeman neuer trauailes but as the maister prouoketh him with good wages: and so he is the pryncipall cause of thys house making. And this cause is of the learned called 'efficient'; as that that bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall neuer come to passe, yet the house can not bee made wythout the stuffe, and worke<sup>1</sup>men; and therefore they be called of fome caufa fine quibus non, and of some other Materiales & Formales; but all commeth to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, that is, the pryncipall cause, without remouing of which cause the thing that cannot be remedied. And because that it was graffed in every mans judgement, that the cause of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall; Therefore Men tooke the causes of these thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not discerning the pryncipall cause from the meane causes, that by taking away of these causes that bee but secondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of Aiax that loft her husband in the shippe called Argos, wished that those Firre beames had never

bene felled in Peleius wood, whereof the fayd shippe was made, when that was not the efficient cause of the loofing of her husbande, but the wild fire cast in the said shippe, which did set it a syre. causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselues, without some other to set them a worke. And percase, I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys that I have fayde to the fame. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in felling his wares fo deare; & Sublata caufome other by the Lord, in reyfing his land fo high. And fome by these inclosures. And some other by the reysing of our coine, or <sup>1</sup> alteration of the same. Therefore, some by taking some one of these [1 orig. atterathings away, (as theyr opinion ferued them to be the pryncipall cause of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng shewed, they touched not the cause efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuise tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cause, that as foone as it is taken away, the effect is removed also. 2 Yet I confesse al these thinges rayseth together with this dearth, that every of them should seeme to be the cause of it; neuerthelesse, that is no good [Tenterden proofe that they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple and Dover harbour.] made at Douer 3 the cause of the decay of the Hauen of Douer, be- [3? Tenterden.] cause the Hauen began to decay the same time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I have sayd before, of men thrusting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force; So in Hovy one this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the orygin-of another, & all cause of these causes; that be, as it were, secondary, and makes third. them to be the causes of other. As I take the reysing of al prises of victuals at the husbandmans hand, is cause of the raysing of the rent of his land. And that Gentlemen fall so much to take fearmes to theyr hands, least they bee driven to buy theyr p[r]ouision so deare, that is a great cause againe that Inclosure is the more vsed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & fee it manured in hufbandry, which requyreth the industry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of persons, doe conuerte

Such [Remote causes need not be

[The principal or efficient cause of the Dearth has not yet been toucht.]

thing is cause that of the

[Is the chief cause of the Dearth in the Merchant?]

moste of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is required both lesse charge of Persons, and of the which neuerthelesse commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but one first of all is the chiefe cause of all this circuler motion & impulsion. I shewed, ere while, that the chiefe cause was not in the husbandman, nor yet in the Gentleman. Let vs see whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the husbandman is dryuen to sel his commodities dearer. now that the matter is brought to maister marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cause from being in you?

Marchaunt.

<sup>1</sup> Sir, eafily ynough; for as wee fell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of ftraungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will difburden our felues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunswere; if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. was, they felled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; faying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue afmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for fo much. Yea, for an ounce of our filuer or golde, as much stuffe as euer was geuen for the fame. And their other answere was, that if we reckened they did fell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the fame then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they faide, but oures, that made our pieces leffe, or leffe worth then they were in times past. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: faying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would confider the quantity & right value of it, that they were esteemed at enery where through the world.

[That because our coin was debasd, they wanted more of it for their goods.]

The straungers aunsyvere tou-

ching this dearth.

Knight.

Then I would have answered them there of this forte. If they came bether but for our commodities, what made it the matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If so, they might have

as much of our commodities for the same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our filuer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor our goods, and yet is expedient they should have any from vs. Wherefore, I would alone.] thinke that was no cause why they should fell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let foreigners take let our coin

they don't want of us as we do of

<sup>1</sup>Then he might have aunswered againe, that it chaunsed not all Doctor. wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we [1 Fol. 43] had againe al those wares that they looked for. And therefore they, havinge percase more wares necessary for vs then we had of such [But suppose wares as they looked for, would be glad to receive of vs fuch ftuffe so much goods currant in most places as might buy that they looked for else where them, at their pleafure: And that they will fay was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte have the same once conueyed them; As they had many waies to haue it fo, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might fay that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of filuer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs braffe mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of filuer then of braffe, no, not the maifter of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, feing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth befide, why should they not esteeme our why should they, coine after the quantity and value of the substance thereof, both after take our debasd the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also every other where? And fo as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in fubstaunce that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs fee whether now goeth the cause of this matter? from the straungers; For me thinkes he hath resonably excufed himfelfe & put it from him.

coin as pure ?]

<sup>2</sup>By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Knight. [2 Fol. 43, back] Kinges highnes, by whose commaundement the same was altered.

Doctor.

[Henry VIII. debasd our coin, thinking that it 'ud be a benefit to the realm, but it's been a great loss.]

Yea, percase it goes further yet; yea, to such as were the first counfailours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditye, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme, Hee with his people might have ben eafly revoked againe from the practife of that fimple deuise. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine that he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwise, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to have intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditye to himselfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

Knight.

Then yee thinke plainely that this alteration of the coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuersall dearth?

talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginal of all; and that befide the reason of the thing being plaine inough of it self, also experience & proofe doth make it more playne. For euen with the alteration of the

covne began this dearth; and as the covne appayred, fo rose the prices

of thinges with all; & this to be true, the few pieces of olde coyne

which afterward remained did testefie; for yee should have for any of

that fame coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer

was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made leffe, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and because this rayled not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and fome other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made fuch a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude, II

thinke this alteration of the Coine to have ben the first originall cause

that firaungers first fould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all

Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to fell the

fame dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayle their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouifion, and

Yea, no doubt, and of many of the fayd grieues that we have

Doctor.

That the alteration of the covne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, ener since that time.

[ Fol 44]

Knight.

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be; how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be re-

confequently to inclose more Groundes.

moued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long fithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princesse which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz. has restord our Coin to its original purity ]

In deede, fir, I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may Doctor. feeme at the first fighte to discredite my former sayinges in some parte) that, notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to have proceded of continues.] the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to the purpose, is well worthy the confideration, fo doe I accompte it of fuch difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to ftande wyth modesty to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

[True. And the Dearth still

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I Knight. vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of fufficient flore (without farther deliberation) to fatiffie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then thefe.

[1 orig. Wwell! [2 Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of thinges.]

[1. The debasing of our coin by Henry VIII This raisd

Well<sup>1</sup>, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to <sup>2</sup> yeelde to Doctor. your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgementes in the fame. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding that restitution made in our coin, the aforefayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, the prices of all things generally among al forts of reople rose; it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which lived onely vpon the revenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the fmarte hereof then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out the Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driven of necessity as often as whenfoeuer any Leafes deuised for terme of yeares by themselues or their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into

The raising of prices raisd Rents on Lease

This raisd the price of food, and all other articles.]

[1 Fol. 45]

[If we want our old pen'orths or prices, we must get Rents lowerd ]

[2. The great increase of money in our days, from India, &c.]

[Some years ago a man with year was thought rich. Now he's considerd next door to a beggar.]

Knight.

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyffing vp of Rentes hath continued euer fince that tyme, vntill this present day. Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and fo continueth vnto this day), to fel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause, so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes, which have lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I 1know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs agayne, The reftoring of our good Coine, which allredy is past, (& before the improved rentes would only of it felfe have been fufficient to have brought this matter to passe,) will not serue in these our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poffibly can not be without the common confent of our landed men throughout the whole realme. Another reason I conceive in this matter to be the great store the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

& plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then euer our forefathers haue sene in times Who doth not understand of the infinite summes of gold & filuer, which are gathered from the Indies & other countries, and fo yearely transported into these costes? As this is otherwise most certaine, fo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in these daies. It is their constant report, that in times past, & within the memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which, all things discharged, was clearly worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in these our daies the man of that estimation is so farre in the common opinion from a good house-keeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons feemed vnto me to contain in them fufficient probability for causes of Yea, but (fir) if the increas of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great store of gold and filuer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like forte, rayled according to the increase of their treasure.

It is euen fo; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I ac- Doctor. coumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherfed to re- [\*Fol. 45, back] uoke or call backe agayne all our Enlglish wares vnto their old prices, so doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or convenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs, on the other side, deare vnto vs. which could not be without great impouerishing of the Common weale in a very shorte time.

Now that you have so well touched the occasion of this dearth, Knighte. and what is to be hoped or wished of the same, so fully that I am well fatisfied withall, I pray you shewe me the remedies of these great In- [Pray tell me the closures, whereof al the realme complaineth of so much, and hath Enclosures of Common lands.] complayned long vpon. For you have well perfwaded how it is a meane of greate defolation of this realme, and that is longe of the great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer that they haue by tillage, that they turne fo much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I have hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament as in Counsayles, & yet fmall remedy found therefore that tooke effect.

If I then, after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments Doctor. and Counfayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they fay) Magnificat, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Yet tell your phantafie therein; for though you misse of the right Knight. meane to reforme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wife men as yee speake of to misse.

You fay truth, and fince I speak nothing in this part that I would Doctor. haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wife men to confider, & to admit or reject as to their better reason shall seeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already with your patience to fay thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in 2 this. But still I must keepe my grounde that I spake [2 Fol. 46] of, that is, to try out the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then, by taking away of the cause, to redresse the thinge.

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Knight.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.] I pray you doe so; for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phistion tell mee once, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, saying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that should make me stronger; Then he answered me that choler was the cause of my sicknes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease once taken away, the sicknes should bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

Doctor.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

Knighte.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fanfie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Doctor.
[Avarice is the chief cause of Enclosures.]
Hovv Inclosures may be remedied.

[\tau Lessen the profit of grazing, or 2. greaten that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[1 Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

To tel you plaine, it is Auarice that I take for the principall cause thereof; but can we deuise that all couetousness can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they fe grow by thefe inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you: Either by the minishing of the luker that men haue by grafing; Or els by aduaunfing of the profite of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grafing is; for every man (as Plato faith) is naturally couetous of luker. And that wherein they fee 1 most luker, they will most gladly exercise. I shewed you before, that there is more luker by grafing of x. Acres to the occupier alone, then is in the tillage of xx. And the causes thereof be many: one is, that grafing requires small charge & fmall labor, which in tillage confumes much of the mens gaines; though it be true that the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maister & all his mainy, then the grafing of xx. Another great cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is rered vpon grafing, hath free vente both ouer this fide & also beyond the sea, to

be fold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of feruaunts & of labor. And [Causes of tilalso if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of badls.] the tillage. And then if the market doe arise, either within the Realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selling his corn, that he neuer after shall have any joy to set his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forfake tillage and fall to grafing, which bringeth in all these Inclosures.

Now, what remedy for that?

Knighte.

paratum.

[There should be no restraint

plough-tail was

Mary! as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges Doctor. of tillage and grafing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, pasture, pratum, that is as much to say as para- Platum quasi tum, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman might have asmuch liberty at all times to sel his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the grafier hath to fell his; which on the sale of would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other, feeing them thriue, would turn theyr pasture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunse the market for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to be vsed, and consequently more Corne, which in time of plentye within this Realme might bringe in much treasure; & in time of scarsity would suffice for the realme, as I shewled you before. [1 Fol. 47] And thus with luker they should bee entysed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other privileges. I have red that in this realme fometime [Once the there was fuch a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of mis-a sanctuary.] aduenture, mought have taken the Plough tayle for his fainctuary. Also that occupation was had so honourable amonge the Romains, that one was taken from houlding the plough to bee Confull in Rome, who after his yeare ended, thought no scorne to resort to the fame feate againe. What occupation is fo necessary or fo profitable for mans life as this is? Or what miftery is fo voyd of all craft as the fame is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it def- [Husbandry is pifed, that many in these daies repute them but as villains, pesaunts, or Farmers are flaues, by whome the proudeft of them have their livings. So that villains, I maruaile much there is any (feing fuch a vility & contempt of the thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all; For as honour nourisheth all sciences, so dishonor must needes decay them. And there-

now despised.

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[ Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt.

Of Tovvnes decayed.

fore if ye will haue husbandry encreased, ye must honor & cherish it: that is, to let them have honeft gaines thereby; & fince that gains fhall come into youre countrey, why should you be offended therewith? Another way is to abate the commodity of grafing, as when any taxe is requisite to be graunted to the Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture asmuch as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & fuch things as are reared by grafing. that passe to the partes beyond the sea vnwrought, with double tallage ouer any corn transported; and by enhaunfing the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of grasing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied and grafing much leffe; And therby these inclofures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto also; that is, where men are enter comminers in the common fields, & also have their portions so entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of the sayd fields so long as it is fo. 1 But of late, divers men, finding greater profite by grafing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them fo many acres in this place for fo many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and fo inclose it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was so of olde time ordeined, that every Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, fo as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbour should have as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii., and fo after the like rate be the most partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were still so continued, for anoyding of the fayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching that matter.

Now that you have well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your minde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hospitalles; and how the fame may be remedied and releeued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but Citizens and Burgefes finde as much within theyr walles.

Since I have begon to take vpon me to tell my phansie in all these Doctor.

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, the good occupations [Bring back to heretofore vsed in the fayd Townes were occasion of theyr wealth in old Trades ] times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore, if such occupations may be reuyued againe in the fame, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

I beleeve that well, that the decay of the occupations was the de- Marchaunt. cay of these townes; but what, I pray you, was 1 the occasion of such [1 Fol. 48] decay of the occupations?

made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our The occasion Townes & Cities well fet a worke; as I knewe the time when men our Tovvnes. were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and fet a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And specially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote,

I will tell you: while men were contented with fuch as were Doctor.

of the decay of

[Of old, folk were content with countrymade girdles, &c.; now no poor man is so,

no gentleman is with countrymade clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

own products (wool, tin, &c.)

20,000 people to

Dublet, Hose, or shyrte, in his countrey, but they must have this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the feaes, are well fet a worke, euen vpon our costes. Therefore I would wish some stay were deuised for comming of so many trifles from beyond the Sea, and specially of such things as might be made here among our felues; or els might bee either all spared, or els lesse vsed amonge vs; as these drinking and looking glasses, paynted clothes, [Foreign trifles.] perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like forte. As for filkes, wines, and spice: if there came leffe ouer, it made no matter. But specially, I would that [None of our nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, should be brought from beyond the fea to be folde here, but that all those imported.] should be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs that our owne people were fet a worke with fuch thinges then firaungers? I am fure xx. thousand persons might be set a worke within this [This would set realme, that are fet a worke beyond fea with those thinges that now work.]

[1 Fol. 48, back]

[We might make all kinds of cloth and clothes here,

also paper,

all leather goods, glass, cards, chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money for these now goes abroad ]

[Three sorts of traders.]

[r. Importers send our money away.

 Other tradesmen spend their earnings in the country.]

[2 Fol. 49]

[3.] That are is to be most chearished in a tovvne that bringes most to the tovvne.

be made beyond the Sea, and 1 might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. persons through the whole yeare, and burden his treasures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think these things might be wrought here, not onely sufficient to fet fo many a worke and ferue the realme, but also to ferue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kersey, Worsteds, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapeftry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hofen, Peticotes, and Hattes: then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, skins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of glasses, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and cheffes, fince we will needes haue fuch things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, fawes, chefells, axes, & fuch things made of yron. might not wee bee ashamed to take all these things at straungers hands, & set such a multitude of their people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee faued within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in fettinge vp of these occupations, I would have them most preferred and cherished, that bring most commodity and treasure into the countrey; as yee must consider three fortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treasure; the second fort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first forte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdashers; these galley men, Mercers, Fustian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries that felleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhauft the treasure of the Realme. Of the second fort are Victaylers, Inhoulders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Masons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and <sup>2</sup> Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of the countrey, fo they bringe none in; but where as they get it they fpend it. Of the thyrd fort bee these clothiers, cappers, worstedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe recken, that brings into the realme any treafure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be vied, and where they bee not, they would be fet vp; and also other sciences moe, as making of glasses, making of Swords, Daggers,

Kniues, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; also making of pinnes, [Fresh trades poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. heard fay that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewife. So Briftow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and Tovrnes are was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit some one trade. these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly mainteined by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard fay in Venice (that most florishing citie at these daies of al [Venice entices Europe), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, to it.] they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye; for it is a wonder to fee what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himselfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditye but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one [See what Worstedmaker bringes into the towne where he dwelles, and how Worstedmaker many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to the towne where he dwels, truly I can not fufficiently declare, for by a few worstedmakers the same townes they have are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell 1them out; as I [1 Fol. 49, back] haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come<sup>2</sup> from ftraunge parties to some Cityes within this Realme, 12 orig. entending to fet vp theyr craftes, and because they were not free [We foolishly there (but specially because they were better workemen then were skilld workmen any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. towns.] Such incorporations had those Misteries in those Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them first.

to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of points.]

enriched with

brings to a

comemon ] drive strange out of our

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as Capper. free in a City or Towne as they that were prentifes there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were fo.

I fayde not that they shall have commonly lyke liberty or Fraun- Doctor. chife; but as one crafte makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, fo I would have the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchife of one craft or mifterry;

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decaying town, should be given houserent, and lent money.]

[I Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

for, though commonly none should be admitted there to worke but fuch as are free, yet when a finguler good workeman in any miftery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enftructe them of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe into the Towne much commodity befide, I woulde in that case have private Liberties and Priuileges gieue place to a publique weale; and fuch a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or fetting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes as were either sometimes exercifed well there, or might bee by reason of the situation and commodity of the same Towne, I woulde haue such craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr house rente 1 free, or some stocke lent them of the common stocke of such townes; and when the towne is wel furnished of such Artificers, then to ftay the comming in of Foreners. But while the towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of 2 any straunge artificers; for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all fortes, but specially by those that make any wares to sell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treasure into the same: As clothiers, cappers, worstedmakers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, fmythes of all fortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, poursers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basket makers, and many other fuch. As for the mercers and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. housholdes, and in steade thereof empouerish ten times as many. But fince men wil needes haue filkes, wine, and fpice, it is as good that men do fpend theyr money vpon fuch in their owne towne as to be dryuen to feeke the same further. As for the rest of the artificers, like as I faid before, euen as they take no money out of the Countrey, fo they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Masons, Bouchers, vittailers, & such like. an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decaied; if they would take order that al the wares made there should haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such

as be truely wrought. And also that euery Artificer dwelling out of [Country artiall townes (such as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be affiliated to some brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) should bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to fell no ware but fuch as are first approued and sealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to fay, fy[r]fte 1 by ftaying of wares wrought beyond fea, which [2 Fol. 50, back] might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be fold; Secondly, by reftraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, & other commodityes from the Decay of Towns.] passing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be fold e outward, & these wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne feale before they shoulde bee folde; -I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be foone restored to theyr auncyent wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for

Now wee pray you go to the last matter ye spake of: how these Knight. diuerfities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people [What's the very fore, and makes great fedition and deuifion among them, and in Religious maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, the Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the forefayd loffes of wordly 2 goods. For if wee were neuer [2 worldly] so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amonge our selues, wee shoulde lycke our felues hoale againe in short space.

remedy for our Differences 91

que res crescunt. maxime di-

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles. 1

Yee fay truth: with concord, weake things do encrease & waxe Doctor big; And contrarywife, with discorde strong thinges waxe weake. And it must needes be true that truth it selfe sayth: 'Euery kingdome de- Concordia uided in it selfe shal bee desolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbeare to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is may discordia bee anoyded out of this our common Weale; & stil I will vie one trade, labuntur. as in feeking out the oryginall cause, and by takinge awaye of that to thew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof, aswel the sinnes of them that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first, of ours, that have swarued altogether from their due course, order, and profession, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to 3the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to [3Fol. 5x] them in pride, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men, seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

[While Ministers livd up to what they preacht, all men obeyd them.]

The occasion of the scysme in matters of religion. (is the sin of Ministers; and unless they reform, schism 'll not cease.]

Knight.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy have been beaten; but with little good result.

How many more of us live in our parishes now?] to bee your Leaders and Paftors, or to whose doctryne yee shoulde gieue credence, whome yee fee in lyuing far discrepant from the same. And therefore ye take vpon you the indgment of spirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconvenience draweth euer another after him, for so long as the ministers of the church were of those maners & conversation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long all men, yea, the greatest prynces of the worlde, and the wysest men, wer content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning that foule; and fince we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryst suffered slaunder by our sinfull liuing. So we have gieuen the fyrste occasion of this euil, & yee have taken it as an inftrument to worke this fcyfme withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to diffemble oure owne faultes then I have done yours, except wee reforme our felues fyrst, I can have no great trust to see this generall scysme and devision in religion vtterly taken away; it may, percase, wyth authority be for a time appealed, but neuer fo as it sprynge not againe, except wee reforme oure felues fyrft.

Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel disciplined & corrected already, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed, as by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with subsidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more?

Yea, no doubte wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue ferued, but some maisters with little beating will 1 teach theyr schollers better then other with more strypes can doe; and agayne, some schollers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we doe now: you in beating inough, but little teaching; and wee agayne, little regarding the strypes, doe learne as little. For, notwithstanding these punishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue reformed our selues, yea, so much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how many moe of vs haue resorted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many leffe now then before haue studied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittyng of ministers of the church? What more exacte fearche is made by our Bilhops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of foules? What better execution of our cannous and decrees doe our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their vifitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hospitality, refidence, or ministration eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byshops now, then they did before? doe they not Bishops lurk in lurke in theyr manfions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and fcant once a yeare will fee their principall church, where they ought to be continually refident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that God sendes to them? But they are so blynded, that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, & construe it to be for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in defiringe theyr Possessions by a hatred conceived agaynste them. for not obteying theyr purpose 2 at men of the Churlches hand2. Or [1 Fol. 52] for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or such other causes as they immagine with themselues; And thinke that the indignation against them shortly will slake of it selfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay the tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr fore labour and fweate of theyr browes, when they can not have for it againe neither ghoftly comforte nor tithes, when we bodely? what layman will be any thing scrupulous to keepe those 'em?] tythes in his owne handes, when hee fees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they fee fo light in lyuing? what reuerence will they gieue our perfonnes, in whose manners they see no grauity? But to passe from these matters to others. There be most godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counfayles generally, that all Archdeacons should visite in person yearely theyr precinctes. The Bishop euery three yeares to see the whole Diocesse, what is to be reformed either privately or generally, that private faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they have [Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence, Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.

mans ons, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.1

[2-2? at churchmen's hands.]

[Who likes paydo nothing for

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws. ]

[The sins of the English Clergy.] [Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.

They take money too for holding Synods, but never hold 'em.]

[<sup>1</sup> Fol. 52, back. Catchword Whereby]

[And yet reformation was never more needed than now.]

[Good laws we have; but we won't keep 'em.

Then laymen should make us.]

[If we Clergy want schism to cease, let us reform ourselves.] theyr procurations. Vifite they doe not in person, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is furely gathered, but the cause wherefore it was geuen, nothinge kept; the flipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, absolued after the like forte; where every bishop should yerely keepe a finode in his diocesse of all euangelicall persons, and euery archbishop a fined for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bishop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Bishoppes alone. 1Where bee these sinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire finodals of the poore priests; of such good ordenance & godly there is nothing kept, but that which is their owne privat commodity, which be the procurations & finodals; the other part wherefore that charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were that both the one & the other were taken away, then to have the good parte taken & the worse to remaine. If they will say that there needeth nowe a daies no fuch vifitation nor fynods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more necessary. But our prelats would fay they dare make no lawes in fuch finods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they have already? what should let them to put these in execution that be already made, specially fince they have the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not flatutes made in parliament for refidence, and for restrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would have put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to have other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our felues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conversation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profession, and that the religion of them fuffereth flaunder, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults shalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil have this scisme taken away from christes church, let vs first reform our felues & put our lawes in execution, as in reforting to our benefices to keepe refidence, and in contentyng our felues wyth one

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our ministration, without deuising of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reason, then a man to fpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath the benefite of? 1 And feeing every benefice is a mans living, [1 Fol. 53] -& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent living, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reason is it that Propter ofone man should have two mens livinges, & two mens charge, where he is able to discharge but one? Then to have moe, & discharge the cium. cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some, percase, will fav, there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for fuch a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, for footh, [We have benefices from 1000] there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of fundry values to endow euery man with, according to their capacity.] after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leave the first and take the better, for the meanest Benefice is a sufficient livinge for some man, which should be destitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like should be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe that men which have such meane benefices be more commonly resident, more than the and keepe better hospitality on the same, then they that have greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, 'Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.' Nowe looke throughe a whole Diocesse, you shall not finde xx. persons resident that may dispende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the [We haven't 20 benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resident ouer the same. with £40 a year. What temperal office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall Not r Parson in and of greater charge? I pray God fend our Prelats Eyes to fee thefe Enormities; for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot fee them. And then I doubt not but all delayes fet a part If the Bishops they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God fend our Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their will.] feculer power. And to fludy for the reformation 2 of them, rather [2 Fol. 53, back] then for theyr poffessions, Christian Princes beare not their fwords in vayne; nor yet is it so straunge a thing to see Christian princes reforme the Prelates that swarue from their duties. Thus far be it spoken

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

ficium datur benefi-

to 20 marks a

[The poor clergy live at home rich.]

won't reform this, I hope to God the lasty

[The presumption of illinformd laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in the part of the laitye. [orig. dutye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[\*Fol. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

touching the reformation of them that be mynisters of the Church. Now to speake of that is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must vinderstand, that al that geue them selues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subject to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke Tully doth report): the one is to take these things that we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good space and great diligence in confideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the fame; the other vice, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary. Let vs now confider, and those faults be not among you at these dayes, ye be all now studious to knowe the vnderstanding of holy scripture. And well, for there can be no better defire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man; but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the confideration or fludy of scripture, take vpon the m to iudge of high matters being in controuerfie, geeuing to quicke affent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they have confidered what might be fayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely feene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of the lawe not past iii. yeares, more ready to assoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after that he hath studied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, fo it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & fo of al other sciences. Therefore Pythagoras forbade his Schollers to I speake the firste v. yeares that they came to him, which lesson I would to God yee would be content to observe, before yee gave any judgement in matters of holy scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more fcrupulouse to geue an aunfwere in high thinges then yee be now; and this harme commeth of rashe iudgement in that part, that when a man hath once vttred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from that he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what fo euer he readeth after, he constructh for the mayntenaunce of his

opinion; yea, and wil force that fide, not onely with his wordes and perswasions, but also with that powre and authority that he hath, and will labour to bring other to the fame opinion, as many as he can, as though his Opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of the same. By such meanes, if we seeke but for [Truth doesn't the truth, that is not to bee judged to be alwayes on the best side that most votes.] getteth the ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the disceptacion & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wreftling; for he that hath the ouer hand in these thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is fometimes put to filence, or otherwise vanquished in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and [Why should conqueit of truth on his fide. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what shoulde wee deuide our selues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly discussed, tryed, and ex- As Constanamined, by men to whom the judgement of fuch things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vse any vyolence the time of agaynst the other to bringe them by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most part of them, to whom the discuscion of such things appertayneth vnto, 1 doe freely confent and determine the [1 Fol. 54, back] matter. That is the onely way to descide such controuersies; and since [Let all questhis contencion must once haue an ende, it were better take an end by experts, and be times, then too late, when percase more harme shal have ensued of decide.] this daungerous Scifme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene feene, of fuch fort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what loffe of Christian men, what diminishing of the Christian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the Arrians bene the occasion of? did it not seperate and seuer at length all Asia and Affricke from the Christian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked supersticion, of the Turke graffed ouer this Arrian Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuision more daungerous then that [The only way which groweth of matters in Religion, so it were most expedient and is to stop divisions is to have a necessary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any Council.] other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apostles, who first tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all controuerfies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost, as his promise is,

seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

tyne the great did in

the majority

General

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome or Pope) is a difficulty.]

Hove this scisme might be remedied.

[I Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on (1.) the pay of the clergy, or (2.) points of Religion.

Let the Clergy settle (2), and the secular powers (1).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight.
Marchaunt,
Husband,
& Capper.
Doctor.

wilbe presente in euery such assembly that is gathered together by no But now wee will fay, thoughe wee force or labor of any affection. would for our partes fet a fide parciality, and be indifferent and vse no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that shoulde fauour our partes. who can promife that the Byshoppe of Rome and other Prelates would doe the same? Surely, if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more fubiect to affections then yee be. shalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswell as in other thinges. I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuersie to be of one of these sortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Mynisters 1 of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wishe that they had onely the discuscion thereof. which ought and haue vied alwayes to haue the judgement of the fame; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclefiafticall persons, I would have these left to the discuscion of the seculer powers, because it concerneth seculer thinges onely; where no man neede mistrust, but that the Maiestrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ferueth fo honorable a roume as the ministration of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wishe in thinges touching the byshop of Rome, & his iurifdiscltion, that he should be set a part, & some other indifferent persons chosen, by christian Princes, to direct or be Presidentes in the Counfayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it please Christian Princes to houlde a counsayle with that Whore of Babylon,) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cause. Here I haue but briefly touched the summes of things after my simple phantasie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

I am forry that it is fo late that wee must needes depart nowe.

And so bee wee, in good fayth; but wee trust ere you departe the towne, to have some communication with you again.

I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing that my simple indgement will reach vnto you) you shall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I have spoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke [The Doctor's it, and to yeelde to the judgement of any other man that can shew to any wiser how all these grieses, or the more part of them, 1 may bee remedied by Social Evils of his day.] any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thousande in this [1 Fol. 55, back] lande I may worste speake in such a wayghty matter. And so here for this presente I take my leave of you all.

willing to yield Doctor of the

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when Knight. I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembred at the least [I've set down in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity shoulde Doctor's ferue, I might brynge forth fome of his Reasons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunswered otherwise then I could. And therefore I have noted the fayd communication briefly of this forte, as you fee.

FINIS

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at London in Fleetstreate. neere Vnto Saincle Dunstones Church, by Thomas Marshe.

## APPENDIX.

## [PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[Ashm. MS. 1148, leaf 395.]

## By the Quene.

LTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneys, for some convenyent tyme, and with some kynde of moderation therein: Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses newely happened, moved and induced, though to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thoroughe the realme of rymors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decryed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyed, by reason the same rymors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furdering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as thoughe the moneys were allredy decryed. nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decrye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rymors, so constantly and depely setled in mens heades; and thereaftre the prices of all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneys be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye. handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiors and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenaunce; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessitie ought to haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, aftre this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standerd that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvith yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth:

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{ffyne} \\ \text{ster-} \\ \text{ling} \\ \text{Sil-} \\ \text{uer} \end{array} \right) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Shilling} \\ \text{half shilling} \\ \text{Quarter shilling} \\ \text{Three half pence} \\ \text{Three farthing} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{That was} \\ \text{curraunt} \\ \text{for} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{xij d.} \\ \text{vj d.} \\ \text{iij d.} \\ \text{jd. ob.} \\ \text{ob.} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Shalbe} \\ \text{curraunt} \\ \text{ij d.} \\ \text{j d.} \\ \text{ob.} \end{array} \right\}$$

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

## 102 Base coin to be changed for sterling, 1561. [APP.

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekoning one by one, Hir maiestie meanyng that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, thoughe it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneys as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subjectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auncyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignoraunce or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the Abassing of Coynes

## NOTES.1

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes:

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587....

"The Briefe Conceipt is not in our College Library; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says: "I have heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares); p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing); p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . . ); p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.); p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547); p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse'); p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Forewords, W. S. may be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I have noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. William Stafford and the Popish Plot. Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the Briefe Conceipt:—

"The difference between us as to the author of the 'Compendium' is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lady of the Bedchamber.

"Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, John Calvin being the godfather.

"William, their second son, was not a popish plotter. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham's. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council 'knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.' Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

"January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association 'against popish conspirators,' which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth's hold over the Scottish Queen's liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth's signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary's life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

"Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham's, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister. to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the Compendium, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an Oxford Student, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the Compendium,"

- p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.
  - p. 12. Image = representation. Cp. Hamlet, III. ii. 248.
- p. 14. "there comes me in." This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspere over and over again: Two Gent. of Verona, IV. iv., "he steps me to her trencher"; "he thrusts me himself into the company"; &c., &c.
- p. 21. "There may be . . that they had." Cp. Love's Labour Lost,
- p. 23. compleate. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in -e common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, uprighte, on p. 24.
  - p. 24. to ear. Cp. All's Well that Ends Well, I. iii.
- p. 27. esteemeth. "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in -eth was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."-Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.
  - p. 33, 1. 6 from foot: any. Is this for many, or a use of any = some?
- p. 34. Meany: cp. Chaucer, meyné, Knts. Ta. 1. 400; Nonnes Priests Mod. French ménu.-I. M. Ta. 1. 573.

As meine is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:-

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they Weisford and Fingall. terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke, a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I judge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the houshold or folks, meanie; sharpe,

<sup>1</sup> Sillybauk, a syllabub. Lincolnshire.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene; estrange, vncouth; easie, eeth' or eefe; a dunghill, a mixen. As for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have observed: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For The pronunthe women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode tiation of the kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent: as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c: which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."-1586. Richard Stanihurst, The Description of Ireland, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, I. 28-58.-F.

p. 37. Brass money.

French Soldier. Est il impossible d'echapper la force de ton bras? Pistol. Brass, cur! Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat, Offer'st me brass?—Henry V., IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

- p. 40. "Men do turne... but only sheepe." This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's Village Communities, Lect. III.
- p. 49. "Surely common.. men the more." Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231: "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all..."
- p. 50. foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables. Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587: "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diversitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selves could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

- p. 51. the Millener: the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.
- p. 51. glasses: on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 Hen. IV., II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's Emblems, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.
  - p. 51. vile claie, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.
- p. 51. pryple (pebble) stones and Ferne rootes. Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will have glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone."—É.
- p. 52. Wool exported, and wrought abroad. Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [ = skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward give twelve pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indever that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.
- p. 64. Excesse in apparell and fare. Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.
- p. 64. "Countenance," fair shew. Cp. Measure for Measure, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in countenance."
- p. 97. "hee that is sometimes.. truth on his side." There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's Essay on Liberty, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

### ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

A, to, p. 27. A doe, to do, p. 15. avis. Afore, before, p. 22. Agayne, prep. against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot. Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50. Appayred, grew worse, p. 80. Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66. Assay, p. 45, try. Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96. Assuered, p. 43, sure. Away, for do away, p. 66.

Basing, p. 49, cowering. Ben, p. 80, been. Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen. Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424. Bouchers, p. 71, butchers. Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46. Broode, sb. breeding, stock, p. 43, l. But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," By, during, "lived by all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.

By, on, "lived by their dav wages," p. 16. By course, in order, p. 63. By likelihood, p. 82, probably.

By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.

Can, know, p. 25. Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.

Chargeable, p. 46, expensive. Cheape, sb. p. 35, bargain, price. Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. Chearished, p. 47. Fr. cherer, to cheere, to cherish, &c. Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law. Civile, p. 21, civilized. Civility, p. 26, civilization. Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed. Close, p. 14, private. Come in place, p. 30. Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot. Competently, p. 49, enough. Compleate, p. 23, completely. Conceipt, conception, idea, p. 67. Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison. Conjunct, p. 23. Conservation, p. 15, preservation. Considered of, for by, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34. Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p.

> Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot. Declination, decline, p. 65. Devise, p. 12. Fr. "Devis: m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." —

Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

63, p. 64, and note.

Cotgrave.

Damozins, p. 54, damsons.

Disceptation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "Diceptation . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter."—Cotgr.

Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24. Dispend, p. 95, spend. Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot,

displeasing.

Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note. Eke, p. 72, also.

Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.

Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.

Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-com- Him, it, p. 82. moners.

Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.

Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power. Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot,

ploughable, arable.

Estats, states, condition, p. 20.

Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.

Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the

Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.

Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "faict: m. A fact, act, motion, . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." ---Cotgrave.

Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69; l. 19.

Fetched at, p. 51.

For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. pour aider.

Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.

Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine  ${
m cloth.}$ 

for them, p. 24.

Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.

Gettings, earnings, p. 29.

Goeth clear, is free from blame, Meane, p. 41, means. p. 27.

Good, better, best, used as a term

of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim. Graffe, graft, p. 24.

Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally. Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.

Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull. Handy labour, p. 41. Hath bene, p. 40, have been. Have in charge, p. 11. His, *gen*. its, p. 81. Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm. Holpen, p. 33, helped.

Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting. Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.

Image, p. 12, picture. Impulsion, p. 78, impulse. In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p. 15; maner, welt: "well maner of things."

Inning, p. 24, getting in. Intend, p. 69, I. 20, devise, create.

Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42. Least, p. 77, lest.

Leaver, p. 37, rather.

Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.

Licked themselves whole, p. 28,

Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.

Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.

Furniture of her warres, equipment Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.

> Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.

> Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. Othello, I. iii. 328: "sterile with idleness or manured with industry."

Meany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

Member of Philosophy, p. 12. Minish, p. 19.

Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.

Moe, more, p. 22.

More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot. Mought, p. 80, might.

Move, p. 12, 1.8 from foot, touch on, discuss.

Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep. Myne, p. 68, my.

Neare, p. 76, nearer.

Non, not, p. 23.

Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like

Noted a, for noted as a, p. 14.

Occasion, take, p. 69.

Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.

Occupier, p. 89.

Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.

Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.

Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p 18, *for* on.

On, complain, for of, p. 13.

Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.

Other, for others, p. 15.

Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8. Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.

Paines, punishments, p. 47.

Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.

Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.

Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-

Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.

Perfit, perfect, p. 23.

Peruse, p. 63, examine.

Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.

Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from Slake, p. 93. foot.

Plentious, well to do, p. 19.

Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from

Prety while, a, p. 32.

Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.

Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot. 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "Chiáro scuro, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glos-

Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out. Purchased, procured, p. 25. Pylate, p. 26.

Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46. Refreshing, sb. p. 41.

Remember, remind, p. 66.

Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).

Resemble, compare, p. 26.

Resemble, to, of, p. 15.

Respect, to have, to, p. 28.

Rise at your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.

Romth, space, p. 57.

Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. Scavoir moult d'escripture, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.

Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.

Selled, p. 78, sold.

Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.

Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.

Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.

Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.

Should, p. 22, 37, would.

Sith, p. 30, since.

Skant, scarcely, p. 14.

Smarte, p. 81.

Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke. Sparkes of gold, p. 51. Spoke, p. 45, spoken. Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent. Stent, sb. p. 35, l. 4, stop, point. Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, Stricke, strike, p. 60. Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21. Such who, p. 27. Suerty, p. 30, safety. Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

Taken, p. 12, considered. Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. "taille: f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."-Cotgrave. Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining. Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17. That that, that which, p. 23, 66. That, for those, p. 23; for that some excelles, p. 12; other that which, p. 22; for what, p. 12. This, adv. thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot. Thorough, p. 30, through. To, in addition to, p. 23. Trade, p. 91. Travaile, p. 21. Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot. Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

Understanded, understood, p. 56. Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24. Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of. Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

#### VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49. to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the Which, p. 14, who. intent to continue, p. 41. in hope to come, p. 16; ground to Wist, p. 45, knew. sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . confess . . that, . . yet the dearth . . to remain and continue," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle. have given over to live, p. 17; heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in -en.

are growen, p. 59. is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in -eth. Esteemeth, p. 26, note. Conucieth, p., 66. Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:

followes, for others who follow, p. 15; inclosures ... causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "Ouvrage de verdure, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."— Cotgrave.

Vente, p. 84, last line; course. Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. vente, sale.

Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.

Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17. Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.

What, p. 18, which.

Whether, p. 79, where, whither.

Whom, p. 21, those with whom.

Would, p. 41, should.

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## THE ROGUES AND VAGABONDS

OF

## SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

PRESENTED

TO HIS FELLOW MEMBERS OF

The New Shakspere Society

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.





ROXBURGHE AND BAGFORD BALLAD WOODGUTS OF BEGGARS, &c., here, and on the backs of the Title-pages too.

# The

# Rogues and Vagabonds

OF

# Shakspene's Youth,

#### DESCRIBD BY

Jn. Awdeley in his Fraternitye of Vacabondes, 1561-73, Thos. Harman in his Caucat for Common Cursetors, 156~-73, and in The Groundworke of Conny-catching, 1592.

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### FORETALK.

THE 550 copies of this Book that I hand over to the Society towards making up its issue for this year, 1880, are but a token of repentance for my oversight in ordering Part II. of my edition of Stubbes's Anatomie to be sent out last year, when there was no money to pay for it, instead of keeping it back for this year. Not being able to afford a fresh book, I can only offer this reprint of an old one, which was used in part by Harrison in his Description of England, I. 218-219, and which I have always intended should form one of our Shahspere's-England Series. (My Captain Cox, or Laneham's Letter on the Kenilworth Festivities in 1575 (Ballad Soc.), should form another, when money can be found for it.)

Thomas Harman's Will (p. xiv, below) I couldn't find at Doctors' Commons when I searcht for it, though three John-Harman wills of his time turnd up.

The print of the Stationers' Registers calld for at p. xxvi, has since been produc't by Mr. Arber, to whose energy we are all so much indebted for such numbers of capital texts; and the book only needs an Index to be of real use. The entries on p. ii, vi, vii, below, are in Arber's Transcript, i. 157, 334, 345. (See too i. 348, 369.†) The Hunterian Club, Glasgow, reprinted, in 1874, S. Rowlands's *Martin Mark-all* (p. xvi, below) from the text of 1610, in its handsome edition of all Rowlands's works.

As connected, more or less, with the Vagabonds of London, I add, overleaf, a copy of the curious cut of the notorious Southwark brothel, 'Holland's Leaguer' in 1632, on which Mr. Rendle has commented in his "Bankside, Southwark," Harrison, Part II. p. ix-x., and the site of which is shown on

the left of our first plan from Roque's Map, ib, p. 67\*.

The Brothel is shown, says Mr. Ebsworth, (Amanda Ballads, 1880, p. 507\*), fortified and sentried, as kept by a Mrs. Holland, before 1631. "The picture was frontispiece of a quarto pamphlet, 'Holland's Leaguer; or, an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britanica Hollandia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia: wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme,' etc., sm. 4to. printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes. 1632. . .

"Holland's Leaguer claimed to be an island out of the ordinary jurisdiction. The portcullis, drawbridge, moat, and wicket for espial, as well as an armed bully or Pandar to quell disagreeable intruders, if by chance they got admittance without responsible introduction, all point to an organized system. There were also the garden-walks for sauntering and 'doing a spell of embroidery, or fine work,' i. c. flirtation; the summer-house that was proverbially famous or infamous for intrigues, and the river conveniently near for disposal of awkward visitors who might have met with misadventure.

"Shackerly Marmion's 'excellent comedy,' Holland's Leaguer, 1632, was reprinted in 1875, in William Paterson of Edinburgh's choice series, Dramatists of the Restoration. The fourth act gives an exposure of the Leaguers' garrison, where riot, disease, and robbery are unchecked. Thus Trimalchio says,

> 'I threw thy Cerberus a sleepy morsel, And paid thy Charon for my waftage over, And I have a golden sprig for my Proserpina.

Bawd: Then you are welcome, Sir!'

<sup>+</sup> i. 270: A ballett intituled Tom Tell Truth, A.D. 1565; and i. 307, 'an interlude, the Cruell Detter by Wager,' licenst to Colwell in 1565-6.



"Yet before long the visitors are shouting 'Murder! Murder!'

'They have spoiled us
Of our cloaks, our hats, our swords, and our money.
My brother talked of building of a score, [i. e. "Tick it."]
And straight they seized our cloaks for the reckoning.'"

"The long-credit system did not suit at that establishment, where the health and lives of visitors were uninsured. The Proprietress had early declared the free list to be entirely suspended:

'I'll take no tickets nor no future stipends.
'Tis not false titles, or denominations
Of offices can do it. I must have money.
Tell them so. Draw the bridge.'—(Act iv. sc. 2.)"

## The

# **Anaternitye** of Vacabondes

## BY JOHN AWDELEY

(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565) FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

# A Caucat or Marening for Commen Cursetors bulgarely called Bagabones

## BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIERE.

FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.

COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN

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4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Pruise of Thiebes and Thiebery BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE, FROM THE LANSDOWNE MS. 98, AND COTTON VEST. A. 25.

#### THOSE PARTS OF

The Groundworks of Couny-sutching (ed. 1592)
THAT DIFFER FROM HARMAN'S CAUBAT.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

### LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXIX.











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## PREFACE.

If the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the Liber Vagatorum<sup>1</sup> in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's Description of Britain, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that book.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vacabondes, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's Caucat. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

There was a fewe yeares since a small breefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

¹ Liber Vagatorum: Der Betler Orden: First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds;' the 2nd, sundry notabilia relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rotwelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the Wiemarisches Jahrbuch, vol. 10; 1856. Hotten's Slang Dictionary: Bibliography.

This description of the 'small bréefe,' and the 'lytle shewe' of the 'names and vsage,' exactly suits Awdeley's tract; and the 'fewe yeares since' also suits the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the *Fraternitye*, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdelay; now and then it stands in the Register' Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier, and ought to have been included by Ritson in his Bibliographica Poetica. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small bréefe' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':

"1560-1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett called the description of vakaboundes . . . . iiijd.

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes, as well of rufling vacabones as of beggerly, <sup>2</sup> as well of women as of men, <sup>2</sup> and as well of gyrles as of boyes, with their proper names and qualityes. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quartten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the British Bibliographer, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six-line stanzas. If this work came out originally in 1561, according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, Registers, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1565 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.
<sup>2</sup> as nell and and as nell not in the title of the 1575 edition.

p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confest as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' that,—'at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman to Awdeley (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "Foras-much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bée in the old briefe of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hath his name of a Iarke, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set seales for lycences and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vacabondes, and there see, at page 5, below:

## ¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes. (See also 'A Whipiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a *Patrico*, p. 60, with that in 'the old *Briefe of Vacabonds*,' Awdeley, p. 6:

Awdeley.

¶ A PATRIARKE Co.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill death depart the maried folke.

Harman.

there is a PATRICO . . .

whiche in their language is a priest, that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart.

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).

¶ A PALLIARD.

Harman (p. 44).

¶ A Pallyard.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a

These Palliardes.. go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them.

patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

We may conclude, then, certain

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his *Fraternitye* in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as 'compared with Harman's *Caueat*, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'

'A Cheatour or Fingerer,' and 'A Ring-Faller' (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley's 'small breefe' or 'old briefe of vacabonds,' and wrote his own "bolde Beggars booke" (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman's Caucat is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is the standard work on its subject,—'these rowsey, ragged, rabblement of rakehelles' (p. 19) and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,1—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that's 'Harman to the Reader,' p. 28, below, he says 'well good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but have added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.' He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, 'I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was first a printynge; and also at p. 51, below, 'Apon Alhollenday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression.' All Hallows' or All Saints' Day is November 1.

The edition called the second<sup>2</sup>, also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is 'Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of,' and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of 'The Names of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, 'the *last* sommer, Anno Domini, 1566.' <sup>2</sup> 'now at this seconde Impression,' p. 27; 'Whyle this second Impression

was in printinge,' p. 87.

the Vpright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns:

#### ¶ VPRIGHT MEN.

Richard Brymmysh.
John Myllar.
Wel arayd Richard.
John Walchman.
Wylliam Chamborne.
Bryan Medcalfe.

Robert Gerse.
Gryffen.
Richard Barton.
John Braye.
Thomas Cutter.
Dowzabell skylfull in fence.

Lytle Robyn.

[&c.]

#### ¶ Roges.

Harry Walles with the little mouth.
John Waren.
Richard Brewton.
Thomas Paske.
George Belbarby.
Humfrey Warde.

Lytle Dycke.
Richard Iones.
Lambart Rose.
Harry Mason.
Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.
[&c.]

## ¶ PALLYARDS.

Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned lycence.
Bashforde.
Robart Lackley.
Wylliam Thomas.

ed Edward Heyward, hath his Morte following hym Whiche fayneth ye crank.

Preston.

Robart Canloke.

[&c.]

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A.D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A.D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below: 'Whyle this second Im-

pression was in printinge, it fortuned that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter;' and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn's Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its extension of the story of the 'dyssembling Cranke,' Nycholas Genings, and 'the Printar of this booke' Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace's reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier's Registers of the Stationers' Company, i. 155-6, 166.

"[No edition of Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,' of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton's impression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledgment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers' Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman's work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding 'the boke of Rogges,' or Rogues.]

"1566-7. For Takynge of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry

"[This was certainly Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors'; and here we see Bynneman fined for endeavouring to undermine Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynneman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register.]

"[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]"

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as 'Jack Sheppard' has done in later days. The very woodcutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, prigged two of his prauncer's props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury's parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); 'he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister' (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (ib.); 'he knew London well' (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent 'beinge placed as a poore gentleman,' he had in 1567, 'kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,' and where, being kept at home 'through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles,' whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I have divers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,

wyth suche money as they have gathered, and have confiscated the same to the poverty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his hunting out the Cranke, Nycholas Genings, and his securing the vagabond's 13s. and 4d. for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6; his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beggars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was acquaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Helycon' (p. 27-8), yet he could write verses-though awfully bad ones: see them at pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26 1;—he knew Latin see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his una voce, p. 43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his omnia venalia Rome, p. 60; his homo, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24; &c.;—he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked proverbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Harrison (see p. xii. below); 'a Iustice of Peace in Kent,2 in Queene Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands; 3 he bore arms (of heraldry), and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had at least one old 'tennant who customably a greate tyme went twise in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heathe) eyther wyth fruite or with pescoddes' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture,4 the best gelding of which the Pryggers of Prauncers prigged (p. 44); he had an unchaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

¹ Mr J. P. Collier (Bibliographical Catalogue, i. 365) has little doubt that the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's Caveat were part of "a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the Caveat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of *shires*, points to a liver in a non -shire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.
<sup>4</sup> Compare his 'ride to Dartforde to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.

his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 34-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they have succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecent, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable.. reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stampt on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—? not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "John Harman, Esquyer, one of the gentilmen hushers of the Chambre of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothye Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii. of Lysons's *Environs of London*.

who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.<sup>1</sup> On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.<sup>2</sup> On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 & 3 Edw. VI.<sup>3</sup> He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.<sup>4</sup> His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esqr."—History of Kent, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham "passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight's service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir: Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI."—Hasted's History of Kent, vi. p. 47.

"It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgavelling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI."—Hasted's History of Kent, vol. i. p. exliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson's Gavelkind—twelfth from the bottom stands that of Thomas Harman.

Of Thomas Harman's aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find; "John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edward VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . . "—Hasted's History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

<sup>1</sup> Philipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.

<sup>2</sup> Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.

See Robinson's Gavelkind, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. Stemm. Chich. No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters: Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binneman. Ibid.

The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of prouision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.1 And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggers through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of cel. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by easuall means 2 are in the beginning 2 iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore 2 afore mentioned<sup>2</sup>; but, degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doe what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to straic and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest execrcise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the original of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosines, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull4 and odious sores, and moone 2 the harts of 2 the goers by such places where they lie, to 5 yerne at 5 their miserie, and therevpon 2 bestow large almesse vpon them.6 How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner conjure or adjure the goer by to pitic their cases, I passe over to remember, as judging the name of God and Christ to be more conversant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the heuenlic maiestic further off from no men than from this yngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeflie to have a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, having sound and perfect lims, doo yet, notwithstanding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's *Description*.

<sup>2-2</sup> Not in ed. 1577.

\* pitcous in ed. 1577.

\* pitcous in ed. 1577.

\* Lament in ed. 1577.

\* The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.

sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Dinerse times in their apparell also <sup>1</sup> they will be like seruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost.<sup>2</sup> But, in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doe but licke the sweat from the true laborers' browes, and becreue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked <sup>3</sup> and detestable maner.

"It is not yet full threescore 4 yeares since this trade began : but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to judge; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10,000 persons, as I have heard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they have decised a language among themselves, which they name Canting (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a just reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of Harman. late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth 5 three and twentie 5 sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may 6 take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie 6 what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

"The severall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds: --

- 1. Rufflers.
- 2. Vprightmen.
- 3. Hookers or Anglers.
- 4. Roges.
- 5. Wild Roges.
- 6. Priggers of Prancers.
- 7. Palliards.

- 8. Fraters.
- 9. Abrams.
- 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip-
- 11. Dummerers.
- lincks.
- 12. Drunken tinkers.
- 13. Swadders, or Pedlers.
- 14. Iarkemen, or Patricoes.

#### Of Women kinde—

- 1. Demanders for glimmar, or fire.
- 2. Baudie Baskets.
- 3. Mortes.
- 4. Autem mortes.
- 5. Walking mortes.

- 6. Doxes.
- 7. Delles.
- 8. Kinching Mortes.
- 9. Kinching cooes.7

<sup>1</sup>Not in ed. 1577.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Harman, p. 48.

The 1577 ed. inserts harrible.
 The 1577 ed. reads fifty.

5-5 The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.

<sup>6-6</sup> For these words the 1577 ed. reads gather.

<sup>7</sup> The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in Harman's Caucat.

"The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding; wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised upon them as upon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the commonwealth and welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong1 children, 2 burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people.2 I need not to rehearse; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be connicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses upon their oths, he is then immediatlie adjudged to be greenouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment received for the same. And this judgement is to be executed upon him, except some honest person woorth fine pounds in the queene's books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the justices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his service for one whole years. If he be taken the second time, and proved to have forsaken his said service, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to service: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers,3 minstrels, jugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed 4 schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From 5 among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and just cause: for I have read that they have either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, beene occasion of the death and denoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they have passed, whose parents never knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is and have been manie sharpo lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene's maiestic for cucric time that he dooth so succour them, as it

<sup>1</sup> Not in the 1577 ed.

 $<sup>^{2-2}</sup>$  These words are substituted for which they disfigure to begg withal in the 1577 ed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The 1577 ed. inserts bearwards.

<sup>4</sup> Not in 1577 ed.

<sup>\*-5</sup> These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.

shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I have beene informed. And thus much of the poore, and such provision as is appointed for them within the realme of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of The groundworke of Conny-catching, 1592, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead .-- Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office? -Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the Caucat, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the Groundworke of Conny-catching as are not reprinted from Harman. The Groundworke has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hyrtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth, 1592.1 Hearne's copy of the Groundworke is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his Belman of London, 1608, of which three editions were published in the same year (Hazlitt). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the Belman, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book:

The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Housholds, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfull for all Men to Recule.

Lege, Perlege, Relege.

The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640.

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's Hand Book, p. 241.

On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following 'secret villanies' are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law Vincent's Law. Curbing Law. Lifting Law. Sacking Law.

Bernard's Lawe.
The black Art.
Prigging Law.
High Law.
Frigging Law.

Five Iumpes at Leape-frog."

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by 'an old nimble-tong'd beldam, who seemed to have the command of the place,' to an upper loft, 'where, vnseene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.'

'The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongest the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged euery man to answer to his name, to see if the Iury were full:—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Iug of ale (that had the spirit of Aquavitæ in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry Vous avez as they were cald, and all that were in the roome having single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as ever they heard their names. This Ceremony beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had never before served in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Iustice-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.'

This yonger brother is afterwards 'stalled to the rogue;' and the 'Rector Chory¹' instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, 'one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,' began, as was the custom of their meeting, 'to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,' which done, all the company departed, leaving the 'old beldam' and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

'The spirit of her owne mault walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which shee had gotten by her Marchant

<sup>1</sup> Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.

Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discouer to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their seuerall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.'

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his Lanthorne and Candle-light, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Usurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for a Beadle of Bridewell.' That this 'Usurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in Martin Mark-all, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an vsurper; for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the errour in his [Dekker's] words, and true englishing of the same:'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answere to the Belman of London, Discovering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they have succeeded one the other successively vnto the sixe and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropes, and (as they terme it) the Legend of Lossels. By S[amuel] R[owlands].

Orderunt peccare boni virtutis amore, Orderunt peccare mali formidine pænæ.

#### London

Printed for Iohn Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610

'Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discouering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time: hereupon much adoe was made in setting forth their liues, order of liuing, method of speech, and vsuall meetings, with divers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and papers, now spread euerie where, so that euerie Iacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them; and having gathered together a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars, as wel in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,1 as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had revolted from that faithles fellowship. Herupon every one gaue his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, having ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remoarse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all: others thought it might be some spie-knaue that, having little to doe, tooke vpon him the habite and forme of an Hermite; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowlege of this ignoble profession: and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subject; thus, Tot homines, tot sententia, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Cacodemicall Academicke with his frize bonnet, and gives them al to know. that this invective was set foorth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caucat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed. and termed, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Iustice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

'They (the vagabonds) haue a language among themselues, composed of *omnium gatherum*; a glimering whereof, one of late daies hath endeuoured to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

¹ Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be seene and espied; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.

telligencer. The substance whereof he leaueth for those that will dilate thereof; enough for him to have the praise, other the paines, notwithstanding Harman's ghost continually clogging his conscience with Sic Vos non Vobis.'—Sign. C. 3 back.

'Because the Bel-man entreateth any that is more rich in cauting, to lend him better or more with variety, he will repay his loue double, I have thought good, not only to shew his errour in some places in setting downe olde wordes vsed fortie yeeres agoe, before he was borne, for wordes that are vsed in these dayes (although he is bold to call me an vsurper (for so he doth in his last round), and not able to maintayne the title, but have enlarged his Dictionary (or Master Harman's) with such wordes as I thinke hee neuer heard of (and yet in vse too); but not out of vaine glorie, as his ambition is, but, indeede, as an experienced souldier that hath deerely paid for it: and therefore it shall be honour good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Reare (I doe but shoote your owne arrow back againe), and not to have the leading of the Van as he meanes to doe, although small credite in the end will redound to evther. You shall know the wordes not set in eyther his Dictionaries by this marke §: and for shewing the errour in his words, and true englishing of the same and other, this marke ¶ shall serue

- § Abram, madde
- § He maunds Abram, he begs as a madde man
- ¶ Bung, is now vsed for a pocket, heretofore for a purse
- § Budge a beake, runne away
- § A Bite, secreta mulierum
- § Crackmans, the hedge § To Castell, to see or looke § A Roome Cuttle, a sword
- A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse
- § Chepemans, Cheape-side market
- ¶ Chates, the Gallowes: here he mistakes both the simple word, because he so found it printed, not knowing the true originall thereof, and also in the compound; as for Chates, it should be Cheates, which word is vsed generally for things, as Tip me that Cheate, Give me that thing: so that if you will make a word for the Gallous, you must put thereto this word treyning, which signifies

<sup>1</sup> Of the above passages, Dekker speaks in the following manner:—"There is an Vsurper, that of late hath taken vpon him the name of the Belman; but being not able to maintaine that title, hee doth now call himselfe the Bel-mans brother; his ambition is (rather out of vaine-glory then the true courage of an experienced Souldier) to have the leading of the Van; but it shall be honor good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Rerc. You shall know him by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) he will be taken for a Beadle of Bridewell. It is thought he is rather a Newter then a friend to the cause: and therefore the Bel-man doth here openly protest that hee comes into the field as no fellow in armes with him."—U per se O (1612 edit.), sign. A. 2.

hanging; and so treyning cheate is as much to say, hanging things, or the Gallous, and not Chates.

- § A fflicke, a Theefe

- § A fflicke, a Theete
  § Famblers, a paire of Gloues
  § Greenemans, the fields
  § Gilkes for the gigger, false keyes for the doore or picklockes
  § Gracemans, Gratious streete market
  § Iockam, a man's yard
  § Ian, a purse
  § Iere, a turd
  § Lugges, eares
  § Loges, a passe or warrant
  § A Feager of Loges, one that begreth with false passes or con-

- § A Feager of Loges, one that beggeth with false passes or counterfeit writings
- § Numans, Newgate Market
- ¶ Nigling, company keeping with a woman: this word is not vsed now, but wapping, and thereof comes the name wapping morts, whoores.
- § To plant, to hide
- ¶ Smellar, a garden; not smelling cheate, for that 's a Nosegay
- Spreader, butter
- & Whittington, Newgate.
- "And thus haue I runne ouer the Canter's Dictionary; to speake more at large would aske more time then I have allotted me; yet in this short time that I have, I meane to sing song for song with the Belman, ere I wholly leave him." [Here follow three Canting Songs.] Sign. E 1, back—E 4.
- "And thus hath the Belman, through his pitifull ambition, caused me to write that I would not: And whereas he disclaims the name of Brotherhood, I here vtterly renounce him & his fellowship, as not desirous to be rosolued of anything he professeth on this subject, knowing my selfe to be as fully instructed herein as euer he was."—Sign. F.

In the second Part of his Belman of London, namely, his Lanthorne and Candle-light, 1609, Dekker printed a Dictionary of Canting, which is only a reprint of Harman's (p. 82-4, below). A few extracts from this Lanthorne are subjoined:

## Canting.

"This word canting seemes to bee derived from the latine verbe canto, which signifies in English, to sing, or to make a sound with words,—that is to say, to speake. And very aptly may canting take his derivation, a cantando, from singing, because, amongst these beggerly consorts that can play vpon no better instruments, the language of canting is a kind of musicke; and he that in such assemblies can cant

best, is counted the best Musitian."—Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light, B. 4. back.

## Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
His wach shall feng a Prounces Nab-chete,
Cyarum, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. 1. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in Lanthorne and Candle-light, is the same as that of Harman.

## " A Canting Song.

The Ruffin cly the nab of the Harman beck, If we mawn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck, Or poplars of yarum: he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans, Or els he sweares by the light-mans, To put our stamps in the Harmans, The ruffian cly the ghost of the Harman beck If we heave a booth we cly the Ierke. If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken Or nip a boung that has but a win Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken, To the quier cuffing we bing, And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring, And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans The Bube and Ruffian cly the Harman beck and harmans.

## Thus Englished.

The Diuell take the Constable's head,
If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
Or sweares (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
The Deuill haunt the Constable's ghoast
If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast.
If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
To the Iustice straight we goe,
And then to the Iayle to be shakled: And so

To be hang'd on the gallowes i' th' day time: the pox And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. 'The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language' has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled Practice of Robbers,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman':

1. The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London. London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane. 1659.

Ken = miller, house-breaker
lowre, or mint = wealth or money
Gigers jacked = locked doors
Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters
Joseph, a cloak
Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

2. A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gilter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Snudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Theif. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate. Printed for T. Newton, 1676.

Glasiers, thieves who enter houses, thro' windows, first remouing a pane of glass (p. 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is '*Hanging not Punishment cnough*,' etc., London, 1701.

The following is a Budg and Snudg song:—

"The Budge it is a delicate trade, And a delicate trade of fame; For when that we have bit the bloe, We carry away the game: But if the cully nap us, And the lurres from us take, O then they rub us to the whitt, And it is hardly worth a make. But when that we come to the whitt Our Darbies to behold, And for to take our penitency, And boose the water cold. But when that we come out agen, As we walk along the street, We bite the Culley of his cole, But we are rubbed unto the whitt. And when that we come to the whitt, For garnish they do cry, Mary, faugh, you son of a wh-Ye shall have it by and by. But when that we come to Tyburn, For going upon the budge, There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w-That owes us all a grudge And when that he hath noosed us And our friends tips him no cole O then he throws us in the cart And tumbles us into the hole."—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised:

"In the next Part you shall have a fuller description."

3. Street Robberies consider'd; The reason of their being so frequent, with probable means to prevent 'em: To which is added three short Treatises—1. A Warning for Travellers; 2. Observations on Housebreakers; 3. A Caveat for Shopkeepers. London, J. Roberts. [no date] Written by a converted Thief.

Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them:

Abram, Naked Betty, a Picklock Bubble-Buff, Bailiff Bube, Pox Chive, a Knife
Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born
Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the
money

Cull, a silly fellow Dads, an old man Darbies, Iron Diddle, Geneva Earnest, share Elf, little Fencer, receiver of stolen goods Fib, to beat Fog, smoke Gage, Exciseman Gilt, a Picklock Grub, Provender Hic, booby Hog, a shilling Hum, strong Jem, Ring Jet, Lawyer Kick, Sixpence Kin, a thief Kit, Dancing-master Lap, Spoon-meat Latch, let in Leake, Welshman Leap, all safe Mauks, a whore Mill, to beat Mish, a smock Mundungus, sad stuff Nan, a maid of the house Nap, an arrest

Nimming, stealing Oss Chives, Bone-handled knives Otter, a sailor Peter, Portmantua Plant the Whids, take care what you say Popps, Pistols Rubbs, hard shifts Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers Rum Mort, fine Woman Smable, taken Smeer, a painter Snafflers, Highwaymen Snic, to cut Tattle, watch Tic, trust Tip, give Tit, a horse Tom Pat, a parson Tout, take heed Tripe, the belly Web, cloth Wobble, to boil Yam, to eat Yelp, a crier Yest, a day ago Zad, crooked Znees, Frost Zouch, an ungenteel man &c., a Bookseller

"The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes." (p. 60.)

"A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers." (p. 70.)

4. A true discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers, in and about the City of London, &c., &c. London, 1718.

This pamphlet is "design'd as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos'd Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices." It is by "Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London."

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suiting the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;' but one needn't mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, The Groundworke of Conny-catching, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman's own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the *Groundworke*, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which

Dr Ingleby complains,¹ and like his notorious Alleyn letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractations,—and assure us that the two pieces abovenamed, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's Registers of the Stationers' Company, or Bibliographical Catalogue, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

¹ To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintaunce of him as a player,

requested me to be his baile,"

which is evidently intended to mean, as I had some knowledge and acquaintance of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile. But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and havinge of me some knowledge and acquaintaunce requested me

to be his bayle,"

meaning, of course, Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintance of me, requested me to be his bail.

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing wheare and theare for "where" and "there;" cleere, yeeld, and meerly for "clere," "yealde," and "merely;" veric, anie, laie, waie, paie, yssue, and pryvily, for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privylie;" sondrie, begon, and doen for "sundrie," "began," and "don;" and thintent, thaction, and thacceptaunce for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptaunce"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's 'Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth.' Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2s. 6d.

That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

29 Nov., 1869.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburghe Collection, i. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, 'The cumning Northerne Beggar': 1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

## NOTES.

p. vii. ix, p. 19, 20. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and her parish. The manor of Erith was granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII. in the 36th year of his reign, A.D. 1544-5. The Countess died in 1567, and was buried in the parish church of Erith. "The manor of Eryth becoming part of the royal revenue, continued in the crown till K. Henry VIII. in his 36th year, granted it in fee to Elizabeth, relict of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the description of the manor, of Eryth, alias Lysnes, with all its members and appurts, and also all that wood, called Somersden, lying in Eryth, containing 30 acres; and a wood, called Ludwood, there, containing 50 acres; and a wood, called Fridayes-hole, by estimation, 20 acres, to hold of the King in capite by knight's service.\(^1\) She was the second wife of George, Earl of Shrews-

Rot. Esch. ejus an, pt. 6.

bury, Knight of the Garter, who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII., by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567, lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's History of Kent, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambarde, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Sandys's book on Gavelkind, &c., Consuetudines Cantiæ. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

- "Bibliotheca Cantiana: A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent." By John Russell Smith.
- p. 1, 12. The .xxv. Orders of Knaues.—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxij<sup>ti</sup> ballades at iiij<sup>d</sup> a peece—vij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>, and xiiij. more at ij<sup>d</sup> a peece ij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> . . . . . . . . . . ix<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> "And No. 23 is "The xxv<sup>tic</sup> orders of knaves."—Stat. Reg. ii. 207.
- p. 22. The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded.—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, Stat. Reg. i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—Percy Folio Ballads, ii. 253.
- ¹ This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40% per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. MSS. Dering.

<sup>2</sup> Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.

- p. 23. Egiptians. The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is An Acte concernyny Egypsyans. After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandysshe people callynge themselfes Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de medietate linguæ." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.
- p. 48, l. 5. The Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed. Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—The Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).
- p. 77. Saint Quinten's. Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.
- p. 77. The Three Cranes in the Vintry. "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—Stow's Survey of London, ed. by Thoms, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularity of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

'A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your Three Cranes, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!'—Bartholomew Fair, act i. sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January,  $166\frac{1}{2}$  Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;

and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them."

-Hotten's History of Signboards, p. 204.

p. 77. Saynt Iulyans in Thystellworth parish. 'Thistleworth, see Isleworth,' says Walker's Gazetteer, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julyan's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen,1 &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:— 'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France' bon herbet.' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therfore yet to this day, thei that over lond wende, They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende; And Seint Julianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring therto.'

And in 'Le dit des Heureux,' an old French fabliau:-

'Tu as dit la patenotre Saint Julian à cest matin, Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin; Or tu seras bien ostilé.'

In mediæval French, L'hotel Saint Julien was synonymous with good cheer.

'—— Sommes tuit vostre.

Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of 'Boivin de Provins;' and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatch,

'Blessyd theyr shyppe when they had done, And dranke about a Saint Julyan's tonne.' Hotten's History of Signboards," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

<sup>1</sup> Of pilgrims, and of whoremongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the *Hist. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 11,) in *Brand's Antiquities*, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Frankeleyn, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Seynt Iulian he was in his contre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the *Ancren Rivole*, ab. 1220 A.D., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'

and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' Environs of London, vol. iii. p. 79.

- p. 77. Rothered: ? Rotherhithe.
- p. 77. The Kynges Barne, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (Environs of London, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the Archaeologia, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."
- p. 77. Ketbroke. Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the mordern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.
- "Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's History of Kent, vol. i. p. 40.
- p. 100. Sturbridge Fair. Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in cheese, woolen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—Walker's Gazetteer, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's Antiquities.

## THE

# Fraternitye of Vacabondes.

As wel of ruflyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,

with

their proper names and qualities.

With a description of the crafty company of Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adioyned

## the .xxb. Orders of Knaues,

otherwyse called

a Quartern of Knaues.

Confirmed for ever by Cocke Lorell.

( \* )

## The Vprightman speaketh.

¶ Our Brotherhood¹ of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell:
In graues end Barge which syldome standes,
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

## T Cocke Lorell aunswereth.

¶ Some orders of my Knaues also In that Barge shall ye fynde: For no where shall ye walke I trow, But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britayne streete without Aldersgate.

1575.

1 Orig. Brothethood.

[leaf 1b.]

## ¶ The Printer to the Reader.

This brotherhood of Vacabondes,

To shew that there be such in deede:
Both Iustices and men of Landes,

Wyll testifye it if it neede.

For at a Sessions as they sat,

By chaunce a Vacabond was got.

¶ Who promysde if they would him spare, And keepe his name from knowledge then: He would as straunge a thing declare, As euer they knew synce they were men.

But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)

That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

¶ They graunting him this his request,
He dyd declare as here is read,
Both names and states of most and least,
Of this their Vacaboudes brotherhood.
Which at the request of a worshipful man

I have set it forth as well as I can.

[leaf 2]

## Fraternitye of Gacabondes

¶ The

both rufling and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrles,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adjoyned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

#### ¶ AN ABRAHAM MAN.

A N Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

#### ¶ A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke seruice, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

#### ¶ A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman: or els filtch Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther syt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they have so fylched.

#### ¶ A WHIPIACKE.

A Whypiacke is one, that by coulor of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the seales they cal Iarckes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chiefest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heaving of the Bowth.

#### T A FRATER.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon [leaf 2 b] poore women as they go and come to the Markets.

#### ¶ A QUIRE BIRD.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke scruice. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terms a Priggar of Paulfreys.

#### ¶ AN VPRIGHT MAN.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filtchman. This man is of so much authority, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they have gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doo them wrong, they have no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serve his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assembles, & is not of any to be controled.

#### ¶ A CURTALL.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like livery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

#### ¶ A PALLIARD.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

#### ¶ AN IRISHE TOYLE.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poyntes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[i]lldren or seruants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

## [leaf 3.] ¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and somtime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.

#### ¶ A SWYGMAN.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

#### ¶ A WASHMAN.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or arms to beg. These men ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not complayn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & somtime with rats bane.

#### ¶ A TINKARD.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terms their Bowsing In, and in the means season goeth abrode a begging.

#### ¶ A WYLDE ROGE.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abrode to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

#### ¶ A KITCHEN CO.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

#### ¶ A KITCHEN MORTES.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrle, she is brought at her full age to the Vpryght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntil she come to ye honor of an Altham.

#### ¶ DOXIES.

Note especially all which go abroade working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

#### ¶ A PATRIARKE CO.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill [100736.] death depart the maried folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart every one of them a severall way

#### THE COMPANY OF COUSONERS AND SHIFTERS.

#### ¶ A CURTESY MAN.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clenly apareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him selfe manerly, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familier acquaintaunce will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that fauoureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which have come lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerne one peny. And further, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also have beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggers, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to [leaf 4] the hart, to thinke of such a mischiefe, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a

daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffise our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our lives for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenaunce sheweth to have some pity vppon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershyp, & in the behalfe of my poore afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberality in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .ii.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall vnderstand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a groate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruiters as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receive your gentle offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentleman as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberality. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [leaf 4 b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly their pay them with stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell earely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

#### ¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discerne, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentelmen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & somtime at ye Royal exchaunge. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with euery man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they have learned by diligent enquiring where they resort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony 1 to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by theyr familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselues wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, [leaf 5] yea and such a one as to shew a simplicity, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knowen of these Cheatours, but as vnwares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place serueth. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumblyng on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers wil finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry: & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wylt thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may have some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it straunge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfyl your request. And so falleth to play, somtime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfait simplicity

in the play somtimes over counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leesing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat having good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legerdemane, & counterfaiting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the eare to play with hym also, that ech one might have a fling at him. [leaf 5 b.] This yong man for company falleth agains to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fingerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth them as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handes so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the eare, willeth him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leesing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conueyeth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leaving the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternity there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spying them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched [leaf 6] wordes, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene them both getteth money out of the others purse.

#### ¶ A RING FALLER.

A Ryng faller is he that getteth fayre copper rings, some made like signets, & some after other fashions, very faire gylded, & walketh vp and down the streetes, til he spieth some man of the country, or some other simple body whom he thinketh he may deceaue, and so goeth a lyttle before him or them, and letteth fall one of these ringes, which when the party that commeth after spieth and taketh it vp, he having an eye backward, crieth halfe part, the party that taketh it vp, thinking it to be of great value, profereth him some money for his part, which he not fully denieth, but willeth him to come into some alchouse or tauerne, and there they will common vpon the matter. Which when they come in, and are set in some solitary place (as commonly they call for such a place) there he desireth the party that found the ring to shew it him. When he seeth it, he falleth a entreating the party that found it, and desireth him to take money for his part, and telleth him that if euer he may do him any frendship hereafter he shal commaund him, for he maketh as though he were very desirous to haue it. The symple man seeing him so importune vpon it, thinketh the ring to bee of great valure, and so is the more lother to part from it. At last this ring faller asketh him what he will geue him for his part, for, saith he, seeing you wyl not let me haue the ring, alowe me my part, and take you the ring. The other asketh what he counteth the ring to be worth, he answereth, v. or vi. pound. No, saith he, it is not so much worth. [leaf 6 b.] Well (saith this Ringfaller) let me haue it, and I wyll alow you .xl. s. for your part. The other party standyng in a doubt, and looking on the ryng, asketh if he wyll geue the money The other answereth, he hath not so much ready mony about him, but he wil go fetch so much for him, if he wil go with him. The other that found the ring, thinking he meaneth truly, beginneth to profer him .xx. s. for his part, sometymes more, or les, which he verye scornfullye refuseth at the first, and styl entreateth that he might have the ring, which maketh the other more fonder of it, and desireth him to take the money for his part, & so profereth him money. This ring faller seing ye mony, maketh it very straunge, and first questioneth with him wher he dwelleth, and asketh him

what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and therfore he wil do somwhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for .x. s. more he should have the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinkyng he hath gotten a very great Iewell. These kynde of deceyuing Vacabondes have other practises with their rings, as somtimes to come to buy wares of mens Prentesies, and somtimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of [leaf 7] these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceive the contrary, tyl it be brought to ye touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also much it is worth. to have hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoncker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and having the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometimes wares, and thus vily be deceived.

#### ¶ THE

# .XXV. Orders of Knaues,

otherwise called

## a quarterne of Knaues,

confirmed for ever by Cocke Lorell.

#### 1 TROLL AND TROLL BY.

TRoll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

#### 2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he *that* no man shall know the seruaunt from y<sup>o</sup> Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [leaf 7 b.] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

#### 3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spicecakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo eate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.

#### 4 TROLL HAZARD OF TRITRACE.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyl he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasyng about lyke a foole at euery toy, and then seeketh in euery house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister nedeth him, he is to seeke.

#### 5 CHAFE LITTER.

Chafe Litter is he that wyll plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncalled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places inconvenient, and maketh cleane hys shooes with the coverlet or curtaines.

#### 6 OBLOQUIUM.

Obloquium is hee that wyll take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

#### 7 RINCE PYTCHER.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

#### 8 JEFFREY GODS FO.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf s] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued.

#### 9 NICHOL HARTLES.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Treward knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

#### 10 SIMON SOONE AGON.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.

#### 11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shoes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leaver go lyke a begger then cleanly.

### 12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

#### 13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Commitour of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

#### 14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister [leaf 8 b ] believe that the Cowe is woode.

#### 15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maysters meate is eayll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausye knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

#### 16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mounch present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leave the worst for his Mayster.

#### 17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

#### 18 CORY FAUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyll buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

#### 19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse eate pies and rybs of beefe, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

#### 20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [leaf 9] secretes of a mans house. These misdeming knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

#### 21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll geue hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

#### 22 VNTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (sic) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy: and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

#### 23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he that by his own will, will heare no maner of seruice, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue

wil sit at the alchouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at seruice tyme.

#### 24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might have done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue will go about his owne errand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

#### 25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant geue him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, that he considerth not his frend from his fo, & wil requiteuil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceive his maister.

#### FINIS.

[leaf 9 b.]

Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdely dwelling in little Britaine streete without Aldersgate.

(...)

# A Caucat on THanening,

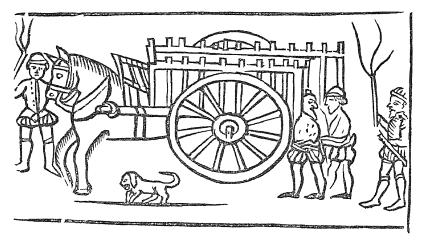
## FOR COMMEN CVRSE-

TORS VVLGARELY CALLED

# Hagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman, Esquiere, for the btilite and proffyt of his naturall Cuntrey. Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

¶ Vewed, examined, and allowed, according vnto the Queenes Maiestyes Injunctions.



A Imprinted at Bondon, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Falcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Saynt Dunstones Churche parde, in the West.

Anno Pomini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warening' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented . . . here of', line 6.]

#### [leaf 2]

¶ To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfite felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

S of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, comforte, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same; So is there (ryghte honorable and myne especyall good Lady) most holsom estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publisshed, for the extreme punishement of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly: and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,-not onelye hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygente, and feable parishnores; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happely doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same; As also aboundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckly gates,-

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behauor of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamites

whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the vtter deludinge of the good geners, deceauinge and imponerishing of all such poore housholders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and comforte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habylytic maye and doth extende: I have of late yeares gathered a great suspition that all should not be well, and, as the prouerbe saythe, "sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare;" for I, havinge more occation, throughe sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I have bene acustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke land confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles, by whom I have [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealynge, beinge maruelous suttle and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discouer, eyther declare there scelorous secretes: yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I have attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vpward,2 and not withoute faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discouer their names or any thinge they shewed me; for they would all saye, yf the vpright men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be only greuouslye beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpright men. was a fewe yeares since a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle showe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge 3 practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse trauell then good wyll, I have repayred and rygged the Shyp of knowledge, and have hoyssed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

leaf 2b. Bodley edition (B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The 1573 edition reads pynking

she maye safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wyshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsey demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascales that raunges about al the costes of the same, So that their vndecent, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Iusticers and Shréeues may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders,1 settinge asyde all feare, slouth, and pytie, may be more circomspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Iusticers. Then wyll no more this rascall rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to the pouerty of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnen clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not have our clothes and lynnen hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not have our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbors had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnen. Then shall we safely kepe our pigges and poultrey from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by <sup>2</sup>the hygh waies leading to markets and fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpycked and spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuinge, or hastely hang for [leaf s] their demerites. Then shall it incourrage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their nighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amendement of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much the more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plages, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth and better florysh, to the inestymable iove and comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiestye, whom god of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads housholders; but Borsholders is doubtless meant.

<sup>2</sup> leaf 3. B.

infinyte goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felycitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable ioye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subjectes. thinketh, I se how these peuysh, peruerse, and pestilent people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion Where as in dede, if it be well and end draweth one a pase. waied, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and commoditie, for the sure safegard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before 1 their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought with his most precious bloud: so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could have decised for them selves. For behold, their lyfe being so manyfest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honorable wyl abhore them, The worshipfull wyll rejecte them, The yemen wyll sharpely tawnte them, The Husband men vtterly defye them, The laboryng men bluntly chyde them, The wemen with a loud exclamation 2 wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliuers, merueled when they toke their oryginall and beginning; how long they have exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it méete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt and memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worshyp in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded: at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling there abouts, that vnneth they mighte lye or stande aboute the House: then was there [leaf 3, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat oxe sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread and drinke aboundantly to furnesh out the premisses; and every person had two pence, for such was the

<sup>1</sup> Printed "brfore"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> reclamation, B.

dole. When Night approched, the pore housholders repaired home to their houses: the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in the barne; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with 1 others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them having his woman, except it were two wemen that lay alone to gether for some especyall cause. Thus having their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing and belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme and pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may apere this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag-which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres,2 lytle aboue; and that the first inventer therof was hanged, all save the head; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases: but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest; and that as short and as spedy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for the wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egiptians, depely dissembling and long hyding and couering their depe, decetfull practises,-feding the rude common people, wholy addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrie to such as would know their fortunes: And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wytnes, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bée to god), throughe wholsome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished, and the memory of them cleane extynguished; that when they bée once named here after, our Chyldren wyll muche meruell what kynd of people they were: and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  The 1573 edition reads and  $^{2}$  The 1573 edition here inserts the word ar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> vanished, B.

For what thinge doth chiefely cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that kéepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they have succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for [leaf 4] the same, for they sell good penyworthes. byers have the greatest gayne; yea, yf they have nother money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I have taken a note of a good many of them, and wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Justicers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fletinge Fellowshyp, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I have placed in the end therof their leud language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntymelye tryfelinge time, leud lyfe, and pernitious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymerous, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the gener neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, euen so shall there not be eny good dede vnrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Sauiour vnto vs in his gospel ("geue ye, and it shalbe geuen you againe"): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, parauenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. Se, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, "breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;" he sayth not gene him a hole lofe, for paraduenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a pecc. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not

be excused: now how much more then the riche? Thus you se, good madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where nede and lacke is, it shalbe heaped vp aboundantly for you in heauen, where neither rust or moth shall corupt or destroy the same. Vnto which tryumphant place, after many good, happy, and fortunat yeres prosperouslye here dispended. you maye for euer and euer there most ioyfully remayne. A men.

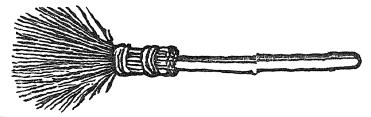
TFINIS.



Threthings to be noted A staff, a béesom, and all in their kynde wyth, that wyll wynde



A béesome of byrche, for babes very feete,<sup>1</sup>
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to swéepe



[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]

1 fyt. B.

#### THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

[leaf 5]

L though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truely-concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is nowe, and hereafter wylbe, curyous heds to finde fauttes: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt the with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countrey, derived of this Laten word (Curro): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a duble 2 oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other singnification: is there no deuersite betwen a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce and maintenance, Streytes and stretes? those that have vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyfference: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he think it bothe odyous and reprochefull? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, with bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingnomy: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vse makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four .C. yeres sithens, and let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the commen names of these leud leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, and valyant beggares. Yf I should have vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward the fyrstes tyme, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nede to have an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall have his tyme on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 1573 ed. reads *not*.
<sup>2</sup> This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.

other syde. Eloquence haue I none; I neuer was acquaynted with the muses; I neuer tasted of Helycon. But accordinge to my playne order, I haue setforth this worke, symplye and truelye, with such vsual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So that as the prouerbe saythe, "all though truth be blamed, it shal neuer be shamed." well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse; and as I truste I haue deserved no rebuke for my good wyll, even so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and travell. But faithfullye for the proffyt and benyfyt of my countrey I have don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their level lyfe and pernitious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amend that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis

#### ¶ A RUFFLER. Ca. 1.1

[leaf 6]

HE Rufflar, because he is first in degre of this odious order: And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vacabonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory: Hée shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnruly rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders aboute the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte. <sup>2</sup> demaundeth where he thinketh hée maye be bolde, and circomspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rufully and lamentably. that it would make a flyntey hart to relent, and pytic his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres; and, parauenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and3 they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bée without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and 4 eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatlye fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruing men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferiour beggeres that they méete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Doxes. Yea, if they meete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that hée well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vnlesse they be preuented by twind hempe.

<sup>1</sup> The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The 1573 ed. here inserts the word he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1573 reads *if* 

<sup>4 1573</sup> has or

{ I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who customably a greate tyme went twise in the weeke to London, eyther wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme serued therefore. And as he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayting on the other, as one had ben the maister, and the other the man or seruant, [leaf 6, back] caryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because that day he had made a good market; for hée had seuen shyllinges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had thought had not bene in his purse, for hée wylled his wyfe ouer night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don, whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters. Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaunt talke, vntyll they weare one the toppe of the hyll, where these rufflares might well beholde the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man, and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the wode, and demaundeth of him what and how much money he had in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are a merrye gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye thinge from me, but rather to geue me some if I shoulde aske it of you." By and by, this seruant thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or vew them, with sharpe words to delyner quiely that he had, and to confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all abashed, yelded, and confessed that he had but just seuen shyllinges in his purse; and the trouth is he knew of no more. This old angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse. Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde, thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration, this gentleman thyefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lorde, what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hée) "a man beleue

or truste in the same? se you not" (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neighboures well considered in the end.

#### ¶ A VPRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

Vpright man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre, Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they have so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quickye all their punishmentes is 2 for gotten. And repentaunce is never thought vpon vntyll they clyme thrée tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylynge, disperse them selves into severall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hée wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath served in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe service, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyvinge, althoughe he meaneth nothinge lesse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Printed "vpreght." vpright in Bodley ed.
<sup>2</sup> 1573, be

Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refusethe scornefully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, "as the begger knowes his dishe." For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng ale house wyll neyther receive them or their wares, but some certayne houses in every shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honester men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not commen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Doxes, -not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, and filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyckednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, peuish places and vnmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talking tounges talke at large. They bowle and bowse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not rome ynough in the house, they have cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioyning, where they couch comly to gether, and 1 it were dogge and byche; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good maner; some wyll take there owne that they have made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, "out of minde." Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case have their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpryght men vse commonly to lye and lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they' wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of the people. They

haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttle sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, havinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner bewrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codg[e]ls, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to kéepe gogges 1 from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses. Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfring clothes of hedges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupyed aboute their busines, -eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do, -Then they hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes, and Doxes; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle, -nether, as the common saying is, "well occupyed;" for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnen and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. tyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they haue a greatter booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and [leaf 8] in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, and conuayed craftely fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money them selues. 2 If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with fellony or petye

<sup>1</sup> dogges. B.

brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examined by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the [y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocye, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they have good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at divers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly and paynfully; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, have worke of them; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they have playd, thei dare not tary. These vyright men wil sildom or neuer want; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hée doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether ever he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name that stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge; and laieth their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges: this man obeyeth for feare of beat-Then doth this vpright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words:-"I. G. P. do stalle thée W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant "-- that is, to aske or begge-"for thy living in al places." Here you so that the vpright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfring and stealinge. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backeside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, havinge in the same halfe a doson

of pewter dyshes, well marked, and stamped with the connizance of my armes, whiche being well noted when they were taken out, were set a side, the water powred out, and my caudren taken awaye, being of such bygnes that one man, vnlesse he were of great strength, was not able far to cary the same. Not withstandinge, the same was one night within this two yeares conuayed more then half a myle from my house, into a commen or heth, And ther bestowed in a great firbushe. I then immediatly the next day sent one of my men to London, and there gaue warning in Sothwarke, kent strete, and Barmesey stréete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling,-That if any such Caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar therof should be stayed, and promised twenty shyllings for a reward. I gaue also intelligence to the water men that kept the ferres, that no such vessel should be ether conuayd to London or into essex, promysing the lyke reward, to have vnderstanding therof. This my doing was well vnderstand in many places about, and that the feare of espyinge so troubled the conscience of the stealer, that my caudoren lave vntouched in the thicke firbushe more then halfe a yeare after, which, by a great chaunce, was found by hunteres for conneys; for one chaunced to runne into the same bushe where my caudren was, and being perceaued, one thrust his staffe into the same bushe, and hyt my caudren a great blowe, the sound whereof dyd cause the man to thinke and hope that there was some great treasure hidden. wherby he thought to be the better whyle he lyued. And in farther searching he found my caudren; so had I the same agayne vnloked for.

## $\P$ a hoker, or angglear. Cap. 3.

Hese hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or procede forth from the vpright men; they commenly go in frese ierkynes and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfringe, it is all by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigelantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, casting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they

be sure to haue the next night following; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of the tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, [leaf 9] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vnto them quickly any thing that they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couerly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete: such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceived, by there talke and behauiour, great lykelyhode of enyll suspition in them: they wyl ether leane vppon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynnen, they thus hoke out, they never carve the same forth with to their staulyng kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, and after convayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys geneth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credebly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the concret and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked saving there shortes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they surely thought that Robin goodfelow (accordinge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

### ¶ A ROGE. Cap. 4.

Roge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fayntly and looke piteously when they sée, either méete any person, having a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they nede not, requiring almes of such as they

méete, or to what house they shal com. But you may easely perceiue by their colour that thei cary both health and hipocrisie about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about the countrey, and faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of the shire;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 9, back] the partye he speaketh of, because you shall not thinke him to runne idelly about the countrey; -either have they this shyfte, they wyll cary a cirtificate or pasport about them from som Iusticer of the peace, with his hand and seale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleasethe them; for they have of their affinity that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothinge to them inferiour in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll chaunge their aparell, as occation seruethe. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pockes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, and would neuer seperat them selues, vnles it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, and were both of one age, and much like of favour: these two, trauelinge into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,¹ being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende: the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied; and to be short, they sat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1573 omits.

out al the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rowsy roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they fayninge that they had an vncle a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquayntance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inquier of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from the place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without disceit, because they so farre enquyred of their kinseman, was but of a good zelous naturall intent, shewed them cherefully that hee great to was an honest man and welbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, and had ben there resident xv. years at the least; "but," saith she, "are you both brothers?" "yea, surely," said they, "we have bene both in one belly, and were twinnes." "Mercy, god!" quoth this folish woman; "it may wel be, for ye be not much valike,"--- and wente vato her hall windowe, callings these your men vnto her, and loking out therat,1 pointed with her lingar and shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; "that," sayd2 she, "is your vncles house." "Nay," saith one of them, "he is not onely my vncle, but also my godfather." "It may well be," quoth she, "nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you." "Well," quoth they, "we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vnele to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll see him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vnele occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house." "Alas!" saith she, "but one old woman and a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushe," qualk this good wyfe, "you be mad men; go to him this night, for hée hath better lodging for you then I have, and yet I speake folishly against my's own profit, for by your taring 4 here I should gaine the more by you." "Now, by my troth," quoth one of them, "we thanke

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1573 omits. <sup>2</sup> saith. B. <sup>3</sup> 1573, mync <sup>4</sup> turying. B.

you, good hostes, for your holsome councell, and we meane to do as you wyll vs: we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost night; and I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,"-so, manerly paying for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge leaue of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towardes this parsones house, vewed the same well rounde about, and passed by two bowshotes of into a younge wodde, where they laye consultinge what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, "thou seest that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake in, in any parte thereof; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene: wherefore we must of necessytie vse some policye when strength wil not serue. I haue a horse locke here about me," saith he; "and this I hope shall serue oure turne." So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe: the dog of the house barked a good, that with they 1 noise, this priest waketh out of his sléepe, and began to cough and hem: then one of these roges stepes forth nerer the window and maketh a ruful and pityful noise, requiring for Christ sake2 some reliefe, that was both hongry and thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue for colde, vnles he were releved by him with some small pece of "Where dwellest thou?" quoth this parson. "Alas! sir," saithe this roge, "I have smal [leaf 10, back] dwelling, and have com out of my way; and I should now," saith he, "go to any towne nowe at this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe me." "Well," quoth this pitifull parson, "away from my house, either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde, here is a couple of pence for thée." "A god rewarde you," quoth this roge; "and in heaven may you finde it." The parson openeth his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this Roge that came whining to receive it, and quickly taketh holde of his hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme, that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So printed. Bodley ed. has the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> sakes, B.

life he could not plucke in his arme againe, and made him beloue, vnles he would at the least geue them .iii. li., they woulde smite of his arme from the body. So that this poore parson, in feare to lose his hand, called up his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wylled her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house, for he had lent vi. li. to one of his neighbours not iiij daies before. "Wel," quoth they, "master parson, if you have no more, vpon this condicion we wil take of the locke, that you will drinke .xij. pence for our sakes to-morow at the alchouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that the parson coulde neuer haue any vnderstanding more of them. Now this parson, sorowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; he vsed contentacion for his remedy, not forgetting in the morning to performe his promise, but went betims to his neighbour that kept tiplinge, and asked angerly where the same two men were that dranke with her yester daye. "Which two men?" quoth this good wife. "The straungers that came in when I was at your house wyth my neighbores yesterday." "What! your neuewes?" quoth she. "My neuewes?" quoth this parson; "1 trowe thou art mad." "Nay, by god!" quath this good! wife, "as sober as you; for they tolde me faithfully that you were their vucle: but, in fayth, are you not so in dede? for, by my trouth, they are strau[n]gers to me. I neuer saw them before." "O, out vpon them!" quoth the parson; "they be false theues, and this night thei compelled me to geue them al the money in my house." "Benedicite!" quoth this good wife, "and have they so in dede? as I shall aunswere before god, one of them told me besides that you were godfather to him, and that he trusted to have your blessinge before he departed." "What! did he?" quoth this parson; "a halter blesse him for [leaf 11] me !" "Me thinketh, by the masse, by your countenance you loked so wildly when you came in," quoth this good wife, "that somthing was amis." "I vse not to gest,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Omitted in 1573,

quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fil a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, and geue me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warraunt you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason I shewed her all the hole circumstance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they2 made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." 3"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the deuyll goe with it,"-and their an end.3

## ¶ A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.

Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more geuen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infancye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeares doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongest them no sin. For this is their custome, that when they mete in barne at night, euery one getteth a make 4 to lye wythall, and their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his eares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skyppeth oute of hys couche and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye

so printed.
Why . . . . . . end. B. omits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> the. B. <sup>4</sup> 1573 reads mate

after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithens, a wild roge chaunced to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty and good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this [leaf 11, back] roge demaunded a peny for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pytie, and loked in his pursse to finde out a penye; and in loking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to finde a single peny; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wylde roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couctous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer al that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a penye would now quench his thirst, 2 seing so much as he dyd2: thus, swallowinge his spittell gredely downe, spoyled this poore man of al the money that he had, and lept ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by enheritance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

## ¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge significath in their language to steale, and a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is a playne. These go commonly in Ierkins of leatherr, or of white frese, and carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if their chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they have loste their waye, and de-

omitted in 1573. 2-2 seing . . . . . . dyd. B. omits.

syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their service. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vppon a Gentleman. These have also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they sée abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a wéeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they comusy the same at the least thre score miles of or more.

¶ There was a Gentleman, a verye friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, hauinge with in thrée myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye [leaf 12] vyllage, where diucres houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, bec use hee would speake with a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde village, lytle aboue a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vpon him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Pryggar there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stande styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This peltynge Priggar, proude of his praye, walkethe his horse vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goeth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could se nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligently enquired of thre or foure towns dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,2 age, apparell, with so many linaments of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, "vna voce," all sayde that no such man dwelt in their streate, neither in the parish, that they knowe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

<sup>1</sup> horses. B.

geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a straunger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he sente suche wayes as he suspected or thought méete to searche for this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydinges agayne of his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

#### ¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

Hese Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, and have their Morts with them, which they cal wives; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chéese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus <sup>1</sup> devided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. Yf they chaunce to come to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be demaunded whether they be man and wyfe, and if he perceaue that any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the ministers name, and others of the same parishe (naminge a parishe in some shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counterfeate licenses; and if they perceive you wil straytly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

¶ Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarse comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for the most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, cyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will cuer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

<sup>1</sup> Printed this

#### ¶ A FRATER. Cap. 8.

Nome of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they have a briefe of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, geuen to suche poore spitlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche briefe is a coppie of the letters patentes, and vtterly fained, if it be in paper or in 2 parchment without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe,3 it is also of auctoritic. For the Printers wil sée and wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome trauel abroad them selves, but have their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, and die for want of cherishing; wheras they and their wives are wel crammed and clothed, and will have of the best. And the founders of every such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better sée vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come aboundantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealthe, repayred to my house to common with me aboute certevne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these 4 parties were hee dwelte. "Thankes be to God, syr," (saith he); "all is well and good now." "Now!" (quoth I) "this same 'nowe' [leaf 13] declareth that some things of late hath not bene wel." "Yes, syr," (quoth he) "the matter is not great. I had thought I should haue bene wel beaten within this seuenth night." "How so?" (quoth 1). "Mary, syr," sayd he, "I am Counstable for fault of a better, and was commaunded by the Justicer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B. inserts a <sup>2</sup> B. omits in

Probably the reason why "in print" came to be considered synonymous with "correct." See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> those, B, <sup>5</sup> B, omits the

Where he harde swearinge, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged vpon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltrye,1 and there fell to pitching of the barre, being thre to thre. Moone dyd shine bright, the Counstable with his neighboure myght see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they coulde not agree vpon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Counstable with his2 fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them, and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Counstable woulde have had them to<sup>3</sup> the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her goodman to intreat the Counstable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or three of the next neighboures, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche breade and drinke also as stoode vpon the table. When the goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Counstable, shewinge vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they targed there but to breake theyr fast, and woulde ryde awaye immediatelye after, for they had farre to goe, and therefore mente to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drincke all gonne, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Counstable returning and hearinge the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hée laughed in his sleue, and commaunded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. thought it better bestowed vppon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

Castynge of axtre & eke of ston, Sofere hem bere to vse non; Bal, and barres, and suche play, Out of chychezorde put a-way.— Myrc, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868) 3 to to. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Printed hts

boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornynge betymes the [leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakefast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trouth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladde when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coulde the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hée) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongest others, I beleuc they woulde hauc carryed awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bée tryed." "Yea," quoth this offycer, "they bée wycked men. I have séene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltynge wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

¶ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

Hese Abrahom men be those that fayne themselves to have beene mad, and have bene kept cyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, and not one amongst twenty that ever came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they have bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym.

If they maye convenyently come by any cheate, they wyl picke and steale, as the v[p]right man or Roge, poultrey or lynnen. And all wemen that wander bée at their commaundemente. Of all that ever I saw of this kynde, one naminge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knave.

Hée is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporcion of his body, with every member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the proverbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensivenes of mynde, the fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeare after and more; and that with the very gréefe and feare, he was taken wyth a marveilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, with anye and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greately. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his déepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

#### ¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPIACKE. Cap. 10.

These Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fiue, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so 1 to London, and downe by the ryuer to séeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the scale of the Admiraltie. I have divers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, with suche money as they have gathered, and have confiscated the same to the poverty nigh adioyninge to me. And they will not

Omitted in 1573.

beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth muche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them two shillinges; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuall, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

1 him (sic). B.

[leaf 14, back] 1



These two pyctures, lyuely set out,

One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.

This mounstrous desembelar, a Cranke all about.

Vncomly couetinge, of eche to imbrace,

Money or wares, as he made his race.

And sometyme a marynar, and a saruinge man,

Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.

Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well tryed,

A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.

Conding punishment, for his dissimulation,

He sewerly receaued with much declination 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This page is not in Bodley ed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1573 reads exclamation

[leaf 15] ¶ A COUNTERFET CRANKE. Cap. 11.

Hese that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that depely dissemble the falling sicknes. the Cranke in their language is the falling euyll. I have séene some of these with fayre writinges testimoniall, with the names and seales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I have well knowne, and have taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writinges, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, the [y]1 immediatly sell the same, for we re it they wyll not, because they would bée the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and neuer go without a péece of whyte sope about them, which, if they see cause or present gaine, they wyll priucly conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, and maruelously for a tyme torment them selues; and thus deceive they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollenday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my<sup>2</sup> booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came earely in the morninge a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgynge at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes laye two or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lyberties of London, where by he hoped for the greatter gayne; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releved, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and rufull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that hée was a depe desemblar; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countinance, it made me in a meruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouth,—for after this manner went he: he was naked from the wast vpward, sauyng he had a old Ierken<sup>3</sup> of leather patched, and that was lose<sup>4</sup> about hym, that all his bodye laye out bare; a filthy foule cloth he ware on his head,

<sup>1</sup> they, B. 2 my my, B. 3 gyrken (et segg.), B. 4 loose, B.

being cut for the purpose, having a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his necke; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receaue the charytye and deuotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym; hauyng hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 15, back] as thoughe he had new falen, and byn tormented wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as thoughe hée hadde wallowed in the myre: sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terreble. I called hym vnto me, and demaunded of hym what he ayled. "A, good maister," quoth he, "I have the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falynge syckenes." "Why," quoth I, "howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also ?" "A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde; and there I laye all most all night, and have bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye." It raynde that morninge very fast; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre lynnen cloth, and byd hym wype his face therewyth; and there beinge a tobbe standing full of rayne water, offered to geue hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane: hée refuseth 1 the same. "Why dost thou so?" quoth I. "A, syr," sayth he, "yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bléedinge a freshe againe, and then I should not stop my selfe:" these wordes made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dysease, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. "Syr," saythe he, "I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Genings,<sup>2</sup> and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeares, and I can get no remedy for the same; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friendes before me; and I haue byne these two yeares here about London, and a yeare and a halfe in bethelem." "Why, wast thou out of thy wyttes?" quoth I. "Ye, syr, that I was."

<sup>1</sup> refused. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gennins. B.

"What is the Kepars name of the house?" "Hys name is," quoth hée, "Iohn Smith." "Then," quoth I, "hée must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well." "Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde," quoth this Cranke; "for I came thens but within this fortnight." I had stande so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my seruant to repayre to bethelem, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my seruant, retorninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye such man there, nether yet anye keper of any suche name; but hée that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, afferming that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be fet a waye by [leaf 16] hys fréendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citye. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethelem to vnderstand the trouth 1, and what aunsweare I receaued againe, requiringe hym that I might have some seruant of his to watche him faithfully that days, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde repaire at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to sée their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hée gladly graunted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelantly accomplisht the charge geuen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hée begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Feldes; there hee renewed his face againe with freshe bloud, which he caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

¶ And so came backe agayne vnto the Temple, and sometyme to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gaue grotes, some syxe pens, some gaue more; for hée looked so ougleie and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that beehelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched; and when it began to bée some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller, and was sette ouer the Water into Saincte Georges feldes, contrarye to my expectatian; for I had thought he woulde haue gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the felde; but these boyes, with Argues and Lynces eyes, set sewre watche vppon him, and the one tooke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so followed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celeryte, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase: now hadde they styll a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed ouer the felddes towardes Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke: the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he 2 how farre the Cranke woulde goe, because hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse; he there stayed hym, and called for the Counstable, whyche came forthe dylygentelye to inquyre what the matter was: thys zelous Pryntar charged thys offycer [leaf 16, back] wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde-the Counstable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. "Naye," saythe this pitifull Prynter, "I praye you have him into your house; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked: you kepe a vytellinge house; let him be well cherished this night, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there screhe hym. The Counstable agreed there vnto: they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe: that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, "So God helpe me, I have but xii. pence," and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. "Why, have you no more?" "No," sayth this Cranke, "as God shall saue my quoth they. soule at the day of judgement." "We must so more," quoth they,

<sup>1 1573</sup> reads skolloer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Omitted in 1573 edit.

and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, wherin was xl. pens. "Toushe," sayth1 thys Prynter, "I must see Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bée dampned both body2 and soule yf I have anye more." "No," sayth thys Prynter, "thou false knaue, here is my boye that dyd watche thée all this daye, and sawe when such men gaue the péeses of sixe pens, grotes, and other money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money." When thys Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, he relented, and plucked out another pursse, where in was eyght shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole that he had begged that day xiij. shillings iii. 3 pens halfepeny3. strypt him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard 4, and favre skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the house fet her goodmans 5 olde clocke, and caused the same to be cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast maydens, nether loth her squaymysh sight.

Thus he set<sup>6</sup> downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a potte of Béere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and called for another, and so the thyrde, that one had bene sufficient for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge. I my selfe, the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader indge what and howe much he would have dronke and he had bene out of feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in spoyling him of his enall gotten goods, his passing pens, and fleting trashe, The printer with this offecer were in gealy gealowsit, and denised to search a barne for some roges and vpright men, a quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, and wente out about their busines, leaving this cranke alone with his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cranke, espying algon, requested the good wife that [leaf 17] hee might goe out on the backesyde to make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkings or mistrusting he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> sayih (sic). B. <sup>2</sup> printed dody <sup>3-3</sup> d. ob. B. <sup>4</sup> bede. B. <sup>5</sup> mans. B. <sup>6</sup> 1573 inserts him; sette hym. B. <sup>7</sup> 1578 inserts that <sup>8</sup> pence. B. <sup>9</sup> The 1573 edition reads ioly ioylitie; gelonsy. B.

would have gon awaye naked; but, to conclude, when hee was out, he cast awaye the cloke, and, as naked as ever he was borne, he ran away, 'that he could 'never be hard of againe.' Now the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to vnderstand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was; and at my comming thether, I hard the hole circumstaunce, as I above have wrytten; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xiij. shyllings and iij. pens halfpeny might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the povertie of the same parishe, and so it was done.

¹ The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus:—"ouer the fields to his own house, as hée afterwards said."

<sup>2</sup> woulde. B. <sup>2-3</sup> again til now. B. <sup>4-4</sup> d. ob. B.

<sup>5</sup> The 1573 edition continues thus :—"wherof this crafty Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parishe, as after you shall heare. But this lewde lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, having got once the tast of this lewd lasy lyfe, for al this fayr admonition, but deuised other suttel sleights to maintaine his ydell liuing, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions: they having both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of the people, fayning they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gayned much. This crafty Cranke, fearinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and apparelled himselfe very well with a fayre black fréese cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fyne felt hat on his head, a shert of flaunders worke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings; and vpon newe yeares day came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg: the printer, having occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chaunce met with him, who asked his charitie for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceused him vpon Alhollen days at night, demanded of whence he was and what was his name, 'Forsoth,' saith he, 'my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Lecester to seeke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I coulde get money to paye for my lodging this night, I would seke work to morowe amongst the hatters.' printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to give him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the streete, where he charged the constable with him, affirming him to be the counterfet Cranke that ranne away vpon Alholon daye last. The constable being very loth to medle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depodisceit, desyred he mought be brought before the debutie of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debuty, he demaunded of him of whence he was and what was his name; he answered as before he did vnto the printer: the debutic asked the printer what he woulde laye vnto hys charge; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceyuer of the people, and the counterfet (Frank that ran away your Alhallon day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward: the debuty thinking him to be deceived, but

#### ¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

Hese Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll neuer speake, vnlesse they have extreame punishment, but wyll gape, and with a maruelous force wyll hold downe their toungs doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes full pitiously, so that with their déepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, and but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his toung in dede. Having on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserves very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayringe to his house, I founde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his¹ lycence, vnder the seales and hands of certayne worshypfull men, had² thought the same to be good and effectuall. I taking the same writing, and

neuerthelesse laid his commaundement upon him, so that the printer should beare his charges if he could not justifie it; he agreed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his héeles and ran down the hill as fast as he could dryve, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coulde; but the printer of the twayn being lighter of fote, ouertoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In the morow the printer sent his boy that stripped him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Crank confessed unto the debuty, that he had hosted the night before in Kent street in Southwarke, at the sign of the Cock, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring. at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, havinge a pretye house, well stuffed, with a fayre joyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with peuter, having an old anneient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false fayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgivenes: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relented, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter three dayes, was removed to Brydwel, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attyre put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillery in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attyre. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whypped at a cartes tayle through London, and his displayd banner caried before him vnto his own dore, and so backe to Brydewell again, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condicion he would prove an houest man, and labour truly to get his liuing. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment." —See, also, post, p. 89.

<sup>1</sup> of his. B.

<sup>2</sup> which priest had. B.

reading it ouer, and noting the scales, founde one of the scales like vnto a seale that I had aboute me, which scale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubte it was none of those Gentlemens seales that had sub[s]cribed. And having vnderstanding before of their peuish practises, made me to conceaue that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wyst that he would and must of force passe through the parysh where I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge homewarde, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called 1 Chayne, and a seruant of my Lord Kéepers, cald Wostestowe, which was [leaf 17, back] the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien, and cunning in his science, had seene the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was dome 2. It was my chaunce to come at the begynning of the matter. "Syr," (quoth this Surgien) "I am bold here to vtter some part of my cunning. I trust" (quoth he) "you shall se a myracle wrought anon. once" (quoth he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quoth I, "you are wel met, and somwhat you have prevented me; for I had thought to have done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe dissemblers." The Surgien made hym gape, and we could see but halfe a toung. I required the Surgien to put hys fynger in his mouth, and to pull out his toung, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a prety whyle; at the length he pluckt out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his tounge, hée would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quoth I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hée speaketh by and by." "Sir," quoth this Surgien. "I praye you let me practise and 3 other waye." I was well contented to sée the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him vp ouer a beame, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cal- (sic). B. <sup>2</sup> dumme. B. <sup>3</sup> So printed. an. B.

there dyd let him hang a good while: at the length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulde in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could find in his pursse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfepeny, being all that we coulde finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruaunt to the next Iusticer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whypped, and none dyd bewayle them.

# ¶ a dronken tinckar. Cap. 13.

Hese dronken Tynckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, and these yong knaues be the wurst. These neuer go with out their Doxes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or lynnen, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bowse at their bowsing ken. And full sone wyll they bée wearye of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Doxes lynger alofe, and tarry for them in some corner; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth [leaf 18] he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besydes money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. vf she haue thrée or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old ketle, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hée quicklye snappeth the same vp, and in to the booget it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

I was crediblye informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers with his dogge robbed by the high way iiij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them aboue foure pound in ready money, and hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vntaken. Thus with picking and stealing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.

# ¶ A SWADDER, OR PEDLER. Cap. 14.

Hese Swadders and Pedlers bee not all euyll, but of an indifferent behaviour. These stand in great awe of the vpright men, for they have often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they séeke gayne vnlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and vndoubtedly I have hadde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bryberinge and stealinge. And nowe of late it is a greate practes of the vpright man, when he hath gotten a botye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyue with out suspition.

#### ¶ a larke man, and a patrico. Cap. 15.

OR as much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a l'atrico, bée in the old briefe of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Tarkeman hathe his name of a Iarke, which is a scale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set scales for lycences and pasporte1. And for trouth there is none that goeth aboute the countrey of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I have sene and handeled a number of them: but have the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the prouorbe sayth ("Omnia renalia Rome"), and manye hath confessed the same to me. Heaf 18, back Now, also, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho<sup>2</sup>, whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they have none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doubt that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are maried, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowshyp and good lyking loue: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that be not.

<sup>1</sup> pasportes. B.

## ¶ a demaunder for glymmar. Cap. 16.

Hese Demaunders for glymmar be for the moste parte wemen; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned¹ lycences and counterfayted wrytings, having the hands and seales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selves to have bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable² demaunde your charitie, and wyll quicklye shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll never begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a sheete to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of wemen, and one of them helpes an other.

¶ A Demaunder for glymmar came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, havinge a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, donne in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the deuotion of suche as hadde no money to gene her; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and cheese; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauclede: thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer bee seene in her company in any good towne, vnlesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, eyther trauclinge to gether by the hygh wayes; but the troth is, by report, she would wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in the sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth; but she had an vnthryftye sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house: this amerous man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys 3 glymmeringe glauncer, was presently pyteously e persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bée clothed vnder her lyuerye; and bestowinge [leaf 19] a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> faynon. B. <sup>2</sup> lamontably. B. <sup>3</sup> beholding this. B.

fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode strayte that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for 1 he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bée welcome where money wanted, hée went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offeres the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she would mete hym on the backesyde of the towne and curteously kys him with out constraynt, she shoulde bée mystres thereof, and it weare much better. "Well," sayth she, "you are a wanton;" and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then rauysht wyth his person, and agred to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:--to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gaue hym that she had not, and he received that he coulde not; and taking leue of eche other with a curtoous kysse, she plesantly passed forth one her iornaye, and this vntoward lycorous chamberlayne repayred home warde. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none coulde be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to suspecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aunswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whome she had better affyaunce in for his trouth,-and yet not one amongst twenty of them but have well left there honesty, (As I here a great sorte saye)-to come vnto her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. "Goe, seke out," saythe she, "my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me." "I sawe him go out," saythe he, "halfe an houre

sithens one the backesyde. I hadde thought you hadde sent him of your arrante." "I sent him not," quoth she; "goe, loke him out."

This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen and suspected her sonne; and he had not gone farre but that he espyed him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19, back] "Where haue I bene?" quoth he, and began to smyle. "Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some baudy banquet." "Thou hast even tolde trouth," quoth thys chamberlayne. "Sewerly," quoth this hosteler, "thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for the harmes she had by fyre: where is she?" quoth he. "She is almost a myle by this tyme," quoth this chamberlayne. "Where is my mystres whystell?" quoth this hosteler; "for I am well assured that thou haddest it. and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot." "Why! is it myssed?" quoth this chamberlayne. "Yea," quoth this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstaunce, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. "Well, I wyl tell the," quoth this Chamberlayne. "I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so much payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euer thyne assured fréende." "Why, then, go with me," quoth this hostler. "Nay, in faythe," quoth this Chamberlayne; "what is frear then gift? and I hadde prety pastime for the same." "Hadest thou so?" quoth this hosteler; "nowe, by the masse, and I wyll haue some to, or I wyll lye in the duste or I come agayne." Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from the place where he departed he ouertoke her, having an vpright man in her company, a stronge and a sturdye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familiarly in her company, for he had well hopped to have had some delycate dalvance. as his fellowe hadde; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of

good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demaunded fersely the whistell that she had euyn nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaunder your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes dryue with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe 1 a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to have taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his eares, and whyle hee laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hée hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hée fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hee was come in, and layde him downe on his beade, repayred straight vnto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistel,"-speaking the same pyteouslye thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystrisse, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly ways it; it was worth but thrée shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "And you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyll shewe you, or els I wyll neuer doe it." Shee made hym presently faithfull promisse that shee woulde. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your some home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to." sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burnings of her house, a whystell, and you have genen her v. shyllinges in money,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Omitted in 1573.

and I have geven her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so ?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstaunce that you have harde before, and howe hys pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouth," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neither the losse of my money, as doth my euell and wreched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," saythe this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I have bene well beaten, and have had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrye and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great councell; and then shall I bemocked and loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I have bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughes oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

#### ¶ A BAWDY BASKET. Cap. 17.

Hese Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capeases on their armes, where in they have laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye conneyskins, and steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden servaunts, when there is their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or chéese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men have good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieve them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I have had good proofe of her, as I have learned by the true report of divers.

There came to my gate the last sommer, Anno Domini .1566, a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be releued, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of cherytie, I caused him to have meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demaunded of him whether he was never spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I have," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I have gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so cuyll handeled, as I was within these iiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hée, "I chaunced to méete with one of these bawdy baskets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauored, windshaken knaue?' 'Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue' oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that 2 he had of me, halfe a yere a go, I think it well.' Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your dets.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this 3 aduysed I neuer sawe her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and shoulders, and would have beat me worsse and I had not genen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue him xiiij, pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou owest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bee payde the next tyme I méete with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thyssyde of Rochester. I have dyners tymes bene attemted, but

B. inserts sayth she.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Omitted in 1573.

<sup>\* 1573</sup> reads I am

I neuer loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came styll company by a fore this vnhappy time." "Well," quoth I, "thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyue countrey."

#### ¶ A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

Hese Autem Mortes be maried wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Churche; so she is a wyfe maried at the Church, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I haue, that goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth These walke most times from their husbands companye a moneth and more to gether, being associate with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yf tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go with wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backes. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yeres old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her every night, and she lyeth in the middes: she sayth that they be her children, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

#### ¶ A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

These walkinge Mortes bee not maryed: these for their vn-happye yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhauen, Ireland, or in some service of the Prince. These make laces vpon staues, and purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyldren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the vpright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Where fore, this pollicye they vse, they leave their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they

trauell: this haue I knowne, that iiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllinges, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeare, or some tyme not in halfe a yeare; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their peupshe [leaf 21, back] pollyey; for when they bye them lynnen or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geuen them, or none at all.

The last Sommer, Anno domini .1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly as I desired. behauor, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyuinge and wretched conversation. "God helpe," quoth she, "how should I lyue? none wyll take me into scruice; but I labour in haruest time houestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," quoth I. "Shall I tell you," quoth she, "the best of vs all may be amended; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good dede within this twelve monthes." "Wherein?" quoth I. Sayth she, "I woulde not have it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be meete and necessary," quod I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" quoth she. "I meane," quod I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," quoth she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and sweare by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde never more 1 tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," quoth she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traueled into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels2, and gathered many, and in the place where I found them, I opened them and eate them styll: at the last, in seking more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stycking, I required for gods sake his helpe; and whether it was with stryuinge and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his comminge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and loked red and well

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Omitted in 1573.

<sup>2</sup> mussels, B.

coullered. And, to be playne with you, hée lyked me so well (as he sayd) that I should there lye styll, and I would not graunt him, that he might lye with me. And, by my trouth, I wist not what to answeare, I was in such a perplexite; for I knew the man well: he had a very honest woman to his wyfe, and was of some welth; and. one the other syde, if I weare not holpe out, I should there have perished, and I graunted hym that I would obeye to his wyll: then he plucked me out. And because there was no convenient place nere hande, I required hym that I might go washe my selfe, and make me somewhat clenly, and I would come to his house and lodge all night in his barne, whether he mighte repaire to me, and accomplyshe hys desire, 'but let it not be,' quoth she,1 'before nine of the clocke at nyghte [leaf 22] for then there wylbe small styrring. And I may repaire to the towne, quoth she,2 'to warme and drye my selfe'; for this was about two of the clocke in the after none. 'Do so,' quoth hée; 'for I must be busie to looke oute my cattell here by before I can come home.' So I went awaye from hym, and glad was I." "And why so?" quoth I. "Because," quoth she, "his wyfe, my good dame, is my very fréend, and I am much beholdinge to her. And she hath donne me so much good or this, that I weare loth nowe to harme her any waye." "Why," quoth I, "what and it hadde beene any other man, and not your good dames husbande?" "The matter had bene the lesse," quoth shée. "Tell me, I pray the," quoth I, "who was the father of thy chylde?" She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. "But what was hee?" quoth I. "Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not," quoth shée; "you brynge me out of my matter so, you do." "Well, saye on," quoth I. "Then I departed strayght to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I showed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better héede to her husbande, and to her selfe: so shée gaue me great thankes, and made me good chéere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and houre we had apoynted; 'for I knowe well,' quoth this good wyfe, 'my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne 3 the, that thou

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> he, ed. 1573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I, ed. 1573.

<sup>8</sup> warrant. B.

geue me a watche worde a loud when hée goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall1 bée "fye, for shame, fye," and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the kéepe thys secret vntyll all bee fynesed; and holde,' saythe thys good wyfe, 'here is one of my peticotes I geue thée.' 'I thanke you, good dame,' quoth I, 'and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.' So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shée wente strayght and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbande shée hadde, and howe that she coulde not have hys companye for harlotes, and that she was in feare to take some fylthy dysease of hym, he was so commen a man, havinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all; 'and,' quoth she, 'nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that he woulde have hadde to doe withall; wherefore, good neyghboures and louinge gossypes, as you loue me, and as you would have helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, that I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hee may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.' After shee hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes-'As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behauiour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parysh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faithelesse husbande doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spéedy redresse for your ease<sup>2</sup> and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my councell and you wyll bée aductysed by me; for 3 I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is chéefely touched in this matter, I have the nexte cause; for hée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hee hath bene tempering 4 with me, and yet haue I sharpely sayde him

<sup>1</sup> should. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1573 reads case <sup>4</sup> 1573 reads tempting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Omitted in 1573,

nave: therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hathe apuynted to méete thys gyllot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begyn to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye even nowe that you had a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, being fine of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbande, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll cary eche of vs1 good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be muffeled for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter; for we must have her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas!' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'feare you not,' quoth these stout wemen, 'let her not geue the watch word vntyl his hosen be abaut his legges. And I trowe we all wylbe with him to bring before he shall have leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag | r | ed to the matter, that the way she had denised was the best: so this good wife repaired home; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuely come in on the backsid, and where to tary their good our: so by the time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new denyse aboue sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde deuysed: within a quarter of an oure after, in commeth the good man, who said that he was about his "Why, what have we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? and yf she hane eate and dronke, send her into the barne to her lodging for this night, for she troubeleth the house," "Euch as you wyll husbande," sayth his wyfe; "you knowe she commeth once in two yeres into these (leaf 23) quarters. Awaye," saythe this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can:" thus, by loking one? on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche; the good man of the house shrodge hym for Toye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for hys sopper, set

<sup>1</sup> B. inserts a

<sup>2</sup> won, B.

him downe, and was very plesant, and dranke to his wyfe, and fell to his mammerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the bancquet that 1 was a preparing for him after sopper, and according to the prouerbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce: thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there proffytes, sayinge some of his cattell 2 were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neverhours cattell out that were in his pastures, and mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her 3 promisse. Thus feding her with frendly fantacyes, consumed two houres and more. Then fayninge howe hée would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired couertly into the barne, where as his frée[n]dlye foes lyrked preuely, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. "What, are you come?" quoth she; "by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house." "No, I warrant the," sayth this good man, "they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylbe at mine anon." And laye downe by her, and strayght would have had to do with her. "Nay, fye," sayth she, "I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you and put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best." "Sayest thou so?" quoth he, "now, by my trouth agred." And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the vnsatiable 4 fort "Why," quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, "And are you not ashamed !" "neuer a whyte," sayth he, "Iye downe quickely." "Now, fye, for shame, fye," sayth shée a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fyue furious, sturdy, muffeled gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, sone 5 pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his féete;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B. omits that <sup>2</sup> B. inserts that <sup>4</sup> B. reads vnsanable, or vnsauable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 1573 reads his <sup>5</sup> 1573 reads some

then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not sée; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd him one vntyll they weare windles. good," sayth this Morte, "vnto my maister, for the passion of God," [leaf 23, back] and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll seased not to crye vpon them to bée mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plentifullye oute in most places, they let hym lye styll bounde. this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his Thus leuynge hym blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hée neither might or coulde be reuenged of them, they vanyshed awaye, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely conuayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to fet some have for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuouslye beaten with rodes, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to have called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; "and make no wordes," quoth he, "of this. wylbe reuenged well inoughe;" yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vnhonest, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping "And, by my trouth," quoth this walkinge Morte, "I come dogge. nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, whiche is some what more then a yeare. And I here a very good reporte of hym now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?" "It was pretely handeled," quoth I, "and is here all?" "Yea," quoth she, "here is the ende."

## ¶ A DoxE. Cap. 20.

These Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they have their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indifferent for any that wyll vse her, as homo is a commen name to all men. Such

as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye alwayes for the vpright men, and are cheifely mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backesyde about backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curteous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they vse to carrye in their [leaf 24] greate hosen; so that these beastlye brybinge1 bréeches serue manye tymes for bawdye pur-I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that shee hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke well; that done, I made her faythfull promisse to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to bée wraye her, neither to disclose her name. "And you shoulde," sayth she, "I were vndon:" "feare not that," quoth I; "but, I praye the," quoth I, "say nothing but trouth." "I wyll not," sayth shée. "Then, fyrste tell me," quoth I, "how many vpright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn conversaunt with, and what their names be?" She paused a whyle, and sayd, "why do you aske me, or wherefore?" "For nothinge els," as I sayde, "but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate." "Nowe, by my trouth" (quoth she) "then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acquayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade." "Dead!" quoth I, "howe dyed they, for wante of cherishinge, or of paynefull diseases?" Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. "What, all?" quoth I, "and so manye walke abroade, as I dayelye see?" "By my trouth," quoth she, "I

<sup>1</sup> bryberinge. B.

knowe not paste six or seuen by their names," and named the same "When were they hanged?" quoth I. "Some seuen yeares a gone, some thrée yeares, and some within this fortnight," and declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to bée true, by the report of others. "Why" (quoth I) "dyd not this sorrowfull and fearefull sight much greue the, and for thy tyme longe and euyll spent?" "I was sory," quoth shée, "by the Masse; for some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and divers of them I neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs." "O, mercyfull God!" quoth I, and began to blesse me. "Why blesse ye?" quoth she. "Alas! good gentleman, euery one muste haue a lyuinge." Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer forsake their trade, to dye therefore. I have hadde good profe thereof. There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murthered two children at the least.

[leaf 24, back]

## ¶ A DELL. Cap. 21.

Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knowen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge; when they haue béene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they be Doxes, and no Dels. These wylde dels, beinge traded vp with their monstrous mothers, must of necessytie be as euill, or worsse, then their parents, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars, neither fygs from Thystels. But such buds, such blosoms, such euyll sede sowen, wel worsse beinge growen.

#### ¶ A KYNCHIN MORTE. Cap. 22.

Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrle: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely<sup>1</sup>, tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

## ¶ A KYNCHEN Co. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co is a young boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you have harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

#### ¶ Their vsage in the night. Cap. 24.

Ow I thinke it not vnnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what maner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selues with that thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of the wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or have into some pretye carner of the barne [leaf 25] where she maye conucnientlye lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or scrype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and ouer the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blancket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she have no sheete, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags over the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye Many wyll plucke of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper shéete, and all her other pelte and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B. reads safely

trashe vpon her also; and many lyeth in their smockes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or have to performe the matter. other sorte, that have not slates, but toumble downe and couche a hogshead in their clothes, these bée styll lousye, and shall neuer be with out vermyn, vnlesse they put of theire clothes, and lye as is a boue sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe: the Roge hath his leauings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrée Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, the Crose Keyes in Cranford 1 parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyty in Northhall parysh. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometyme shall come in some Roge, some pyckinge knaue, a nymble Prygge; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easely cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great scleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters and Togemans. Where in stéede of blessinge is cursing; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes and terrible threatninges. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places about sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London: the one is between Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standing alone, that they haunt commonly; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blacke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyll they boldlye drawe the latche of the doore, and

<sup>1 1573</sup> reads Crayford.

go in when the good man with hys famyly be at supper, and syt downe without leaue, and eate and drinke with them, and either lye in the hall by the fyre all night, or in the barne, if there be no rome in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyme do lye xl. vpright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and all that he hath.

# THE NAMES OF THE VPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND PALLYARDS.

Here followeth the vnrulye rablement of rascals, and the moste notoryous and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by. And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader, vnderstand that all the others aboue named are deriued and come out from the vpright men and Roges. Concerning the number of Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well haue don it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a large volume.

#### ¶ UPRIGHT MEN.

| A.1               | D.               | E.                   |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Antony Heymer.    |                  | Edmund Dun, a sing-  |
| Antony Iackeson.  | fence.           | ing man.             |
| · ·               | Dauid Coke.      | Edward Skiner, alias |
| В.                | Dycke Glouer.    | Ned Skinner.         |
| Burfet.           | Dycke Abrystowe. | Edward Browne.       |
| Bryan medcalfe.   | Dauid Edwardes.  | F.                   |
| C.                | Dauid Holand.    | Follentine Hylles.   |
| Core the Cuckold. | Dauid Iones.     | Fardinando angell.   |
| Chrystouer Cooke. |                  | Fraunces Dawghton.   |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The arrangement in Bodley ed. is not alphabetical.

| G.                                   | Iohn Geffrey.                                    | K.                               |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Gryffin.                             | Iohn Goddard.                                    | Τ.,                              |
| Great Iohn Graye.                    | Iohn Graye the lytle.                            | Lennard Iust.                    |
| George Marrinar.                     | Iohn Graye the great.                            | Long Gréene.                     |
| George Hutchinson.                   | Iohn Wylliams the                                | _                                |
| H.                                   | Longer.                                          | Laurence Marshall.               |
|                                      | Iohn Horwood, a maker                            |                                  |
| Hary Hylles, alias<br>Harry godepar. | of wels; he wyll take<br>halfe his bargayne      | <b>M.</b>                        |
| [leaf 26] Harry Agglyn-              | in hand, and when                                | N.                               |
| tine.                                | hée hath wrought                                 | Nicolas Wilson.                  |
| Harry Smyth, he                      | ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with          | Ned Barington.                   |
| driueleth when he                    | his earnest.                                     | Ned Wetherdon.                   |
| speaketh.                            | Iohn Peter.                                      | Ned holmes.                      |
| Harry Ionson.                        | Iohn Porter.                                     | 0.                               |
| I.                                   | Iohn Appowes.                                    | P.                               |
| Iames Barnard.                       | Iohn Arter.                                      | Phyllype Gréene.                 |
| Iohn Myllar.                         | Iohn Bates.                                      | i nynype Greene.                 |
| Iohn Walchman.                       | Iohn Comes.                                      | Q.                               |
| Iohn Iones.                          | Iohn Chyles, alias                               | R.                               |
| Iohn Teddar.                         | great Chyles.                                    | Robart Grauener.                 |
| Iohn Braye.                          | Iohn Leuet; he maketh tappes and fausets.        | Robart Gerse.                    |
| Iohn Cutter.                         | Iohn Louedall, a mais-                           | Robart Kynge.                    |
| Iohn Bell.                           | ter of fence.                                    | Robart Egerton.                  |
| Iohn Stephens.                       | Iohn Louedale.                                   | Robart Bell, brother             |
| Iohn Graye.                          | Iohn Mekes.                                      | to Iohn Bell.                    |
| Iohn Whyte.                          | Iohn Appowell.                                   | Robart Maple.                    |
| Iohn Rewe.                           | Iohn Chappell.                                   | Robart Langton.                  |
| Iohn Mores.                          | Iohn Gryffen.                                    | Robyn Bell.                      |
| Iohn a Farnando.                     | Iohn Mason.                                      | Robyn Toppe.                     |
| Iohn Newman.                         | Iohn Humfrey, with                               | Robart Brownswerd,               |
| Iohn Wyn, alias Wyl-                 | the lame hand.                                   | he werith his here               |
| liams.                               |                                                  | long.                            |
| T-1 To                               | Iohn Stradling, with                             |                                  |
| Iohn a Pycons.                       | the shaking head.                                | Robart Curtes.                   |
| Iohn Tomas.                          | the shaking head.  Iohn Franke.                  | Robart Curtes. Rychard Brymmysh. |
| <u>-</u>                             | the shaking head.<br>Iohn Franke.<br>Iohn Baker. | Robart Curtes.                   |

80 NAMES OF ROGES. HARMAN. Thomas Graye, his toes Wylliam Chamborne. Rychard Constance. be gonne. Wylliam Pannell. Rychard Thomas. Tom Bodel. Wylliam Morgan. Rychard Cadman. Thomas Wast. Wylliam Belson. Rychard Scategood. Thomas Dawson alias Wylliam Ebes. Rychard Apryce. Thomas Iacklin. Rychard Walker. Wylliam Garret. Thomas Basset. Wylliam Robynson. Rychard Coper. Thomas Marchant. Wylliam Vmberuile. Thomas Web. S. Wylliam Dauids. Thomas Awefeld. Wyll Pen. Steuen Neuet. Thomas Gybbins. Wylliam Iones. Thomas Lacon. Wyll Powell. T. Thomas Bate. Wylliam Clarke. Thomas Bulloke. [leaf Thomas Allen. Water Wirall. 26, back] Wylliam Browne. Thomas Cutter. V. Water Martyne.1 Thomas Garret. W. Thomas Newton. Wylliam Grace. Welarayd Richard. Thomas Web. Roges. A. G.

Wylliam Pyckering. Iohn Elson. Arche Dowglas, a Scot. George Belberby. Iohn Raynoles, Irysh man. Goodman. B. Iohn Harrys. Gerard Gybbin, a coun-Blacke Dycke. Iames Monkaster, a terfet Cranke. counterfet Cranke. C. H. Iohn Dewe. D. Hary Walles, with the Iohn Crew, with one Dycke Durram. lytle mouth. arme. Dauid Dew neuet, a Iohn Browne, great Humfrey ward. counterfet Cranke. stamerar. Harry Mason. E. L. I. Edward Ellys. Lytle Dycke. Iohn Warren. Edward Anseley. Lytle Robyn. Iohn Donne, with one

Omitted in 1573 edit.

legge.

Lambart Rose.

F.

MT. More, burnt in the hand.

N.

Nicholas Adames. great stamerar.2 Nycholas Crispyn. Nycholas Blunt alias

Nycholas Gennings, a counterfet Cranke.

Nycholas Lynch.

R.

Rychard Brewton. Rychard Horwod, well nere lxxx. yeares olde; he wyll byte a vi. peny nayle a

sonder withtéeth, and a bawdye [leaf 27] dronkard.

Richard Crane; carieth a Kynchne Co at his backe.

Rychard Iones.

Raffe Ketley. Robert Harrison.

S.

T.

Simon Kynge.

Thomas Paske. <sup>3</sup>Thomas Bere.

Thomas Shawnean, Irish man.

his Thomas Smith, with the skald skyn.3

W.

Wylliam Carew.

Wylliam wastfield.

Wylson.

Wylliam Gynkes, with a whyte bearde, a lusty and stronge man; he runneth about the countrey to séeke worke, with a byg boy, his sonne carying his toles as a dawber or playsterer, but lytle worke serueth him.

### ¶ PALLYARDS.

B. Edward Lewes, a dum- Iohn Fysher. merer. Bashford. Iohn Dewe.

H. D.

Hugh Iones. Dycke Sehan Irish.

Dauid Powell. T.

Dauid Iones, a coun- Iohn Perse, 4 a counterterfet Crank. fet Cranke. Iohn dauids.

E. Iohn Harrison. Edward Heyward, hath Iohn Carew. his Morte following

him, which fained Iames Lane, with one the Cranke. eye, Irish.

Iohn Gylford, Irish, with a counterfet lisence.

Τ.

Laurence with the great legge.

N.

Nycholas Newton, carieth a fained lisence. Nicholas Decase.

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in 1573 ed. <sup>2</sup> Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.

The 1573 ed. arranges these names in the following order:—

Thomas Béere. Irish man.

Thomas Smith with the skalde skin. Thomas Shawneam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The 1573 ed. reads Persk

| P.                    | Richard Thomas. | Thomas Dauids.                                |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Prestoue.             |                 | Wylliam Thomas.                               |
|                       | S.              | Wylliam Coper with to Harelyp.                |
| R.                    | Soth gard.      | † e Harelyp.                                  |
| Robart Lackley.       | Swanders.       | Wyll Pettyt, beareth a                        |
| Robart Canloke.       | Swanders.       | Wyll Pettyt, beareth a<br>Kinchen mort at his |
| Richard Hylton, cary- | T.              | back.                                         |
| eth ii. Kynchen       |                 | Wylliam Bowmer.                               |
| mortes about him.     | Thomas Edwards. | •                                             |

There is about an hundreth of Irish men and women that wander about to begge for their lyuing, that hath come ouer within these two yeares. They saye the [y] haue beene burned and spoyled by the Earle of Desmond, and report well of the Earle of Vrmond.

¶ All these aboue wryten for the most part walke about Essex, Myddlesex, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. Then let the reader iudge what number walkes in other Shieres, I feare me to great a number, if they be well vnderstande.

## [leaf 27, back] <sup>1</sup>Here followyth their pelting speche. <sup>1</sup>

Ere I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskes and lasy Lorrels, where with they bye and sell the common people as they pas through the countrey. Whych language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknowen toung onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggers, and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe, when it is famyliarlye talked, and fyrste placinge thinges by their proper names as an Introduction to this peupshe spéeche.

| Nab, a head.                 | a pratling chete,<br>a tounge.            | quaromes, a body.     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nabchet,<br>a hat or cap.    | Crashing chetes, teeth.                   | prat,<br>a buttocke.  |
| Glasyers,<br>eyes.           | Hearing chetes, eares.                    | stampes,<br>legges.   |
| a smelling chete,<br>a nose. | fambles,<br>handes.                       | a caster,<br>a cloke. |
| gan,<br>a mouth.             | a fambling chete,<br>a rynge on thy hand. | a togeman,<br>a cote. |

B. omits.

commission, a shierte. drawers, hosen. stampers, shooes. a mofling chete, a napkyn. a belly chete, an apern. dudes, clothes. a lag of dudes, a bucke of clothes. a slate or slates. a shéete or shetes. lybbege, a bed. bunge, a pursse. lowre. monye. mynt, golde. a bord, a shylling. halfe a borde, sixe pence. flagg, a groate. a wyn, a penny. a make, a halfepeny. bowse. drynke. bene, good.

benshyp,

very good.

quier, nought. a gage, a quarte pot. a skew, a cuppe. pannam,1 bread. cassan, chéese. varam,2 mylke. lap, butter milke or whey. [leaf 28] pek, meate.

poppelars, porrage. ruff pek, baken. a grunting chete or a

patricos kynchen, a pyg. a cakling chete, a cocke or capon.

a margery prater, a hen.

a Roger or tyb of the buttery, a Goose.

a quakinge chete or a a skypper, red shanke, a drake or ducke.

grannam, corne. a lowhinge chete,

a Cowe.

a bletinge chete, a calfe or shéepe.

a prauncer, a horse. autem, a church. Salomon, a alter or masse.

patrico, a priest. nosegent, a Nunne. a gybe, a writinge. a Iarke,

a seale. a ken, a house.

a staulinge ken, a house that wyll receaue stolen ware. a bousing ken,

a ale house. a Lypken, a house to Iye in.

a Lybbege, a bedde. glymmar,

fyre. Rome bouse. wyne.

lage, water.

a barne. strommell, strawe.

a gentry cofes ken, A noble or gentlemans house.

a gygger, a doore.

<sup>1</sup> The 1573 ed. reads Yannam <sup>2</sup> B. reads yarum. The 1573 ed. reads Param bufe,

the lightmans, the daye. the darkemans,

the darkemans, the nyght.

Rome vyle, London.

dewse a vyle, the countrey.

Rome mort, the Quene.

a gentry cofe,
a noble or gentleman.

a gentry morte,
Anoble or gentle woman.

the quyer cuffyn, the Iusticer of peace.

the harman beck, the Counstable.

the harmans, the stockes.

Quyerkyn, a pryson house.

Quier crampringes, boltes or fetters.

tryninge, hanginge.

chattes, the gallowes. the hygh pad, the hygh waye.

the ruffmans, the wodes or bushes.

a smellinge chete, a garden or orchard.

crassinge chetes, apels, peares, or anye

other frute. to fylche, to beate, to stryke, to robbe.<sup>2</sup>

to nyp a boung, to cut a pursse.

To skower the cramprings, [leaf 28, back] to weare boltes or fetters.

to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth.

to cly the gerke, to be whypped. to cutte benle,<sup>3</sup> to speake gently.

to cutte bene whydds, to speake or geue good wordes.

to cutte quyre whyddes, to geue euell wordes or euell language.

to cutte, to saye.

to towre, to sée.

to bowse, to drynke.

to maunde, to aske or requyre.

to stall, to make or ordaine.

to cante, to speake.

to myll a ken, to robbe a house.

to prygge, to ryde.

to dup the gyger, to open the doore.

to couch a hogshead, to lye downe and sléepe.

to nygle, to have to do with a woman carnally.

stow you, holde your peace.

bynge a waste, go you hence.

to the ruffian, to the deuell.

the ruffian cly the, the deuyll take thee.

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

## VPRIGHTMAN.5

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strummell?

1 custyn. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads, To fylche

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> benie. B.

to robbe \* Roger. B.

<sup>5</sup> man. B.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night, whether in a bed, or in the strawe?

#### ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans. I layd me downe to sléepe in a barne this night.

### VPRIGHT MAN.2

I towre the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet<sup>3</sup> and Togman. I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

#### ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benebouse; then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse 4, I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke; [leaf 20]s then saye to me what thou wylt.

- Man. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to bouse? Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke?
- Roge. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make. But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.
- Man. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse? where is the house that hath good drinke?
- Roge. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.

  A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.
- MAN. I cutt it is quyer buose, I bousd a flagge the laste dark mans.
  - I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there the last night.
- Roge. But bouse there a bord, and thou shalt have beneship.

  But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt have very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is bene shyp.

Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

laye. B.
 masst. B.
 Description of the supplied in MS. in Mr Huth's edition.

Man. This bouse is as benshyp<sup>1</sup> as rome bouse.

This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase nabes.

Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.

Aske of this wyfe what good meate shee hath in her house.

Roge. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Pecke, cassan, and popplar of yarum.

She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

Man. That is beneshyp to our watche.

That is very good for vs.

Now we have well bousd, let vs strike some chete.

Nowe we have well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyere cuffen, it were beneship to myll hym.

Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne to robbe him.

Roge. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes is by.

Naye, let vs go hence to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

Man. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and cly the Iarke, or to the quyerken and skower quyaer cramprings, and so to trying on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stockes, eyther be whypped, eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian clye thee.

A torde in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

Man. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whydds, and byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong; so shall we have lowre for the bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseauyel, we wyll fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go we to London, to cut a purse; then shal we have money for the ale house, and

¹ good in the 1573 ed.

when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some lynnen clothes of one 1 hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

¶ By this lytle ye maye holy and fully vnderstande their vntowarde talke and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they have begonne of late to deuyse some new termes for certien thinges, so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuyse as euyll or worsse. This language nowe beinge knowen and spred abroade, yet one thinge more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I learned the same² of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche I set it forth onely.

There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge to praunce, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the Cofe, with out any fylch man.

Hyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortuned that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter; and as the counstable and a nother would have caried hym thether, This counterfet Cranke ran awaye, but one lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, and so leading him to the counter, where he remayned three days, and from thence to Brydewell, where before the maister<sup>3</sup> he had his dysgysed aparell put vpon hym, which was monstrous to beholde, And after stode in Chepesyde with the same apparil on a scafold.<sup>4</sup>

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detayne, Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend, Impudent persons, thus punished with payne, Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

[leaf 30]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 1573 ed. has some

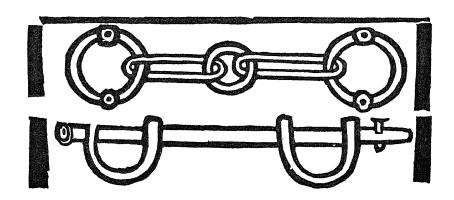
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads that

<sup>3</sup> maisters. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, ante, p. 56.

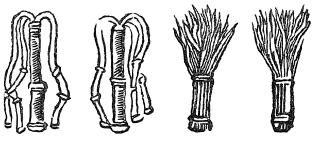


Fetters or shackles serue to make fast,
Male malefactours, that on myschiefe do muse,
Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.



A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, [1500, bk] Of backe and of body, beaten right well.

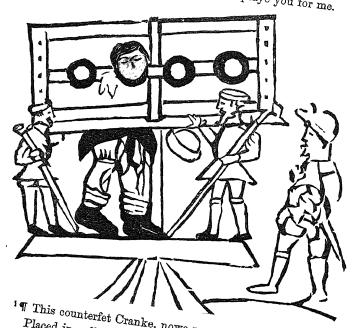
Of all the other it doth the most good, Experience techeth, and they can well tell.





¶ O dolefull daye! nowe death draweth nere, Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.

I take my leaue of all that be here, Nowe piteously playing this tragicall parte. Neither stripes nor teachinges in tyme could convert, wherefore an ensample let me to you be, And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.



1¶ This counterfet Cranke, nowe vew and beholde, Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se:

This was he, as you have hard the tale tolde, before recorded with great suttylte,

Ibused manye with his inpiete,

his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,

was through London caried with dysplayd banner.2

B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut. This is the fygure of the counterfet Cranke, that is spoken of in this boke of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is in the Xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth shows vnto all that rendes it, woundrous suttell and crafty deseit donne of and by him. This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573; also the wood-cut preceding it.

Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

#### FINIS.

- ¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.¹
- $^1$  B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be  $156\frac{7}{5}$ .)

# A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

# [Lansdowne MS. 98, leaf 210.]

A sermon made by Parson Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row, 1 at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that euerye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthye of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertve, and is vsed of all men, of all sortes and in all countryes, and soe comaunded and allowed of god himselfe; which thinge, because I cannot soc sapiently shewe vnto you a 2 soc shorte a tyme and in soe shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good parte this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of your good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. ffirst, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Judge theves vertuous, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute feare. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall:-whoe stealeth not? ffor not only you that have besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, and Children, Riche and poore, are dailye of that facultye, As the hange

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

# A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

## [MS. Cott. Vesp. A xxv. leaf 53.]

A sermon of parson Hyberdyne which he made att the commandemente of certen theves, after thay had Robbed hym, besydes hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the feldes, ther standinge vpon a hylf where as a wynde myll had bene, in the presens of the theves that robbed hym, as followithe:

### the sermon as followethe

I greatly mervelt that any man wylt presume to dysprase theverie, and thynke the dooeres therof to be woorthy of deathe, consyderinge itt is a thynge that cumithe nere vnto vertue, beinge vsed of many in all contries, And commended and allowed of god hym selfe; the which thinge, by-cause I cannot compendiously shew vnto yow at soo shorte a warnynge and in soo sharpe a wether, I shaft desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good parte thes thynges that at thys tyme cumythe to my mynde, not mysdowtynge but that yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add mutch more vnto ytt then this which I shall nowe vtter vnto yow. ffyrst, fortitude, and stowtnes of corage, and also bowldnes of minde, is commendyd of sume men to be a vertue; which, beinge grawnted, who is yt then that wyll not judge theves to be vertused? for thay be of all men moste stowte and hardy, and moste withowte feare; for thevery is a thynge moste vsualt emonge all men, for not only yow that be here presente, but many other in dyuerse places, bothe men and wemen and chyldren, rytche and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,

man of Tiborne can testifye. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is euident in many storyes of the Scriptures. And if you liste to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theves have bin belovid of god. ffor Iacobe, when he Came oute of Mesopotomia, did steale his vncles lambes; the same Iacobe stale his brother Esawes blessinge; and that god saide, "I have chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came oute of Egippe, didd steale the Egippsians Iewells and ringes, and god comaunded the [m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Ahemel[e]ch the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shewe bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himsellfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my nowne sone, in whome I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theves. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise your lives, when that you are in all poynts almost like vnto Christe; for Christ hade noe dwellinge place,—noe more have you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercye, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the sonne and the holye goste, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vijs more for his sermon.

as the hangman of tyboorne can testyfye: and that yt is allowed of god hym selfe, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptures: for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde that theves have bene beloued of gode; for Iacobe, whan he came owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vncle labanes kyddes; the same Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessynge; and yett god sayde, "I have chosen Iacobe and refused Esau." The chyldren of ysraelt, whan they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egiptians iewelles of syluer and gowlde, as god commawnded them soo to doo. Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did cume into the temple and dyd steale the hallowed breede; and yet god saide, "Dauid is a man euen after myne owne harte." Chryste hym selfe, whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse and a cowlte that was none of hys; and yow knowe that god said of hym, "this is my beloued soone, in whome I delighte." thus yow may see that god delightithe in theves. but moste of all I marvell that men can dispyse yow theves, where as in all poyntes almoste yow be lyke vnto christe hym selfe: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more haue yow. christe wente frome towne to towne; and soo doo yow. christe was hated of all men, sauynge of his freendes; and soo are yow. christe was laid waite vpon in many places; and soo are yow. chryste at the lengthe was cawght; and soo shaft yow bee. brought before the judges; and soo shaft yow bee. he was accused; and soo shaft yow bee. he was condempned; and soo shaft yow he was hanged; and so shall yow bee. he wente downe into helt; and soo shalt yow dooe. mary! in this one thynge yow dyffer frome hym, for he rose agayne and assendid into heauen; and soo shaft yow neuer dooe, withowte godes greate mercy, which gode grawnte yow! to whome with the father, and the soone, and the hooly ghoste, bee all honore and glorye, for euer and euer.

Thus his sermon beinge endyd, they gaue hym his money agayne that thay tooke frome hym, and ij to drynke for hys sermon.

[The parts added to HARMAN'S CAUEAT to make]
THE

# Groundworke of Conny-catching;

the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes to vnderstand the same, with the cunning slights of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the Visiter, the Fetches

of the Shifter and Rufflar, the deceits of their Doxes, the denises of Priggers, the names of the base loytering Vosels, and the meanes of energ Blacke-Art-mans shifts, with the reproofe of all their dinellish practises.

Hone by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who had the examining of diners of them.



Printed at Yondon by Iohn Danter for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop at the opper end of Grations streets, oner against Leaden-hall, 1592.

# [leaf 2] To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene divers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftic coossening sleights of these both men and women that have tearmed themselves Conny-catchers; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading over of this booke, wherin thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their severall degrees,

First, The Visiter.

- 2. The Shifter.
- 3. The Rufflar.
- 4. The Rogue.
- 5. The wild Rogue.
- 6. A prigger of Prauncers.
- 7. A Pallyard.
- 8. A Frater.
- 9. An Abraham man.
- 10. A freshwater Marriner, or Whipiacke.
- 11. A counterfuit Cranke.

- 12. A Dommerar.
- 13. A Dronken Tinkar.
- 14. A Swadder, or Pedler.
- 15. A Iarkeman & Patrico.
- 16. A demander for glimmar.
- 17. The baudy Basket.
- 18. An Autem Mort.
- 19. A walking Mort.
- 20. A Doxe.
- 21. A Dell.
- 22. Kinchin Mort.
- 23. A Kinchin Co.

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which neuer yet were disclosed in anie booke of Connycatching. [leaf 2, back] A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by
some of this Cony-catching crue, in Innes or vitualliny
houses, but especially in Faires or Markets,
which came to my hands since the imprinting of the rest.

Whereas of late divers coossening devises and devilish deceites haue beene discouered, wherby great inconveniences haue beene eschewed, which otherwise might have beene the vtter ouerthrowe of divers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest, not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be armed, both to see the deceit, and shun the daunger. These shifters will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentleman or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the having, then one of this crue taketh the marks of the thing, or at least the token the partie giuch them: anone, after he is gone, he likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tels them the markes and tokens: having thus done, hee blames their forgetfulnes, and gives them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes, bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time, wherewith they are pleasd, and he possest of his pray. Thus one gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places (as a reclaimd fellow of that crue confessed) they make an ordinary practise of the same.

[The Pedler's French follows, taken word for word from Harman's book, p. 82-7 above.]

[leaf 5] THE VISITER.

An honest youth, not many yeares since, scruant in this City, had leave of his master at whitsontide to see his friends, who dwelt some fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well

knowen in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needes (sith his iourney lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, having received his mother's blessing, with other his friendes giftes, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to recouer by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carowsing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slily, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make-out of his bed-fellow's sleeue this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediately the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to have them both first searcht, his servants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter cals the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:--"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vnknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tels this youth how vnwilling hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—"vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither." This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yuong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, "heard ye nothing cry?" "Cry!" said the yong man, "yes; [leaf 5, back] you cride so as, for twise ten pound, I would not heare ye

again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

#### A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leaue of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their seucrall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentlemanlike attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the vpper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, and then mooued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare and excesse of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: and iestingly askt if she would

make him her deputie to gather the reckoning; she graunted, and he did so: and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he tooke his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leaving the guestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, and the musitians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered: the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to live. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leave you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discovered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29. The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present Groundworke of Conny-catching. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]

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